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SIR HUGH DALY

WE regret to learn of the sad news of the death of Sir Hugh Daly, British Resident in Mysore, 1910–1916. The Daly Memorial Hall which is the abode of the Mythic Society is a tribute paid by the Mysoreans to his sympathetic and successful statesmanship connected with the conclusion of the Mysore Treaty and other important events which will ever be cherished in grateful remembrance and to his genuine love of Mysore, his scholarly interests in its past history and his well-known solicitude for the growth of the Mythic Society since its foundation.

S. SRIKANTAYA

SIR HUGH DALY

AN APPRECIATION

BY RAJASEVASAKTA S. HIRIANNAIYA, M.A., B.L.

A HIGH-MINDED Englishman has passed away. Sir Hugh Daly whose death Reuter recently announced, arrived in India in 1882 and commenced service in the Military Department from November 1884. He was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in 1892 and was promoted Deputy Secretary in 1896. He was Agent to the Governor-General, Central India, in 1905 and later was appointed Resident in Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg in August 1910. His distinguished services were duly recognized from time to time: C.I.E. in 1892; C.S.I. in 1903; K.C.I.E. in 1911 and on his retirement in 1916, K.C.S.I.

Arriving in Bangalore in 1910, his interest and sympathies were soon drawn to the Mythic Society which had been founded by Father Tabard in the previous year and Sir Hugh Daly rendered invaluable help in the building up of the institution in the earlier years. Naturally he was elected its first Honorary President and to the very last he evinced keen interest in the transactions of the Society. His services in this connection cannot be better described than in the words of Father Tabard in an address presented to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at the laying of the foundation of the Society's local habitation. Father Tabard observed:—

"The Mythic Society with which this memorial is to be associated owes its development, in no small measure, to Sir Hugh Daly's help and encouragement. When, therefore, the idea of building a habitation for the Society was first suggested to Your Highness' Government on November 10, 1914, it was considered that the Hall might be named after Sir Hugh Daly.

"Sir Hugh Daly's liberal culture, suave manners, generous disposition and sincere sympathy with the aspirations of the people of Mysore for advancement, evoked on the eve of his departure an eager and widespread desire among the public to commemorate in a befitting manner his connections with the State.

"A Hall consecrated to letters and intellectual enlightenment was considered an appropriate form the memorial should take."

The work of political officers is hidden from the public gaze and the good they do is interred with their bones. But the people of Mysore know enough of the services of Sir Hugh Daly to regard him as a great friend of Mysore and to hold him in high estimation. Perhaps, the editor will permit me to recall in this connection the words I had occasion to use some time ago at an Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society:

"Sir Hugh Daly was an ideal political officer and his services to Mysore in connection with the Mysore Treaty, the protracted and highly controversial negotiations between Madras and Mysore over the sharing of the Cauvery waters, the Mysore University scheme and in many other matters of delicacy and importance will never be forgotten."

Political officers in India are under a double loyalty, loyalty to the Government which they represent and loyalty to the interests of the State to which they are accredited. Mysoreans believe that Sir Hugh Daly discharged this dual responsibility to the satisfaction of both the Governments.

The pink of courtesy, he won all hearts in Mysore. He was a strenuous worker and not infrequently a letter brought a reply within half an hour typewritten by himself and signed in his big, firm and characterful writing.

This appreciation may well conclude with the fine tribute paid by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at the Foundation ceremony mentioned above :—

"The building of which I am just going to lay the foundation stone is intended to provide a local habitation for the Mythic Society and to honour the memory of my friend, Col. Sir Hugh Daly, who was till recently the British Resident in Mysore. Both these objects have my warmest sympathy.

"The building will serve to recall to the memory of the future generations the name of a high-minded British Officer who was a sincere friend of Mysore and its people."

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ĀBHĪRAS IN THE DECCAN

By Dr. R. N. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D.

The Ābhīras were once a despicable tribe but they soon came into the political limelight. One of the reasons why they became prominent in the annals of history was because they were conquered by the Greeks, as is borne out by the Greek historian Apollodorus and the geographer Strabo. Strabo says that this was the historical tradition: "This Apollodorus who wrote the history of Parthia, when he mentions the Greeks who made Baktriane revolt from the Syrian kings, who succeeded Seleukus Nikator, informs us that when they waxed strong, these Greeks invaded India."[1] On advancing into India according to Strabo they are recorded to have become "masters of Ariana and India....They got possession not only of Patalene, but of the kingdoms of Saraostus and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast".[2] Saraostus (Surāṣṭra) and Sigerdis[3] and the rest

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[1] M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, 1901, pp. 7–8.

[2] Strabo, *The Geography*, II, pp. 252–53 (Hamilton and Falconer).

[3] *Note.*—Dr. B. C. Law suggests that Sigerdis may probably be Sāgaradvīpa-Cutch, *cf. Ancient Indian Tribes*, II, 1934, p. 52.

of the coast were then in the hands of the Western Kṣatrapas, from whom it was obviously wrested by a Greek adventurer. The credit of this conquest of what is called Aparāntaka in the *Mahābhārata* has been accorded to Demetrius who can be styled as the first conqueror of Sind. This Demetrius has been identified with the Dattāmitra,[4] who is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the king of the Yavanas and Sauvīras.[5] The Demetrius who conquered the modern Sind is, however, not to be confused with the Arachosian Demetrius who was the master of the territory between Seistan and Ghazni, for the obvious reason that Arachosia had no relations whatever with the Sauvīra-Sindhus.[6] Moreover, the presence of Demetrius in Aparāntaka has been confirmed by one of the Nāsik cave inscriptions which supports a statement of a scholian of Patañjali who says that Dattāmitra founded the town of Dattāmitrī among the Sauvīras.[7] The record reveals how a gift was made by "Indrāgni-datta, son of Dhammadeva, the Yavana, a northern from Dattāmitrī".[8] Among the provinces which Demetrius conquered, one was "Abiria," which must have been evidently the home of the Ābhīras.[9]

This conquest of the provinces which were named later as Prasiane, Abiria, Patalene, Surastrene and another whose name is lost, must have been achieved by Demetrius after he crossed the Hindukush mountains. It has been observed that "Demetrius cannot have crossed the Hindukush till very distinctly later than 187"[10] and if this be accepted[11]

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[4] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, p. 172.

[5] *Mahābhārala*, I, *Adiparva*, 5537.

[6] Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[7] Patañjali, IV. 7. 104; see also A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, V, p. 150 f.n.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, No. 88, p. 91: *Dātāmiti yakaṣa Yoṇakasya Dhammadevaputasa indrāgnidatasa dhammatmanā imam*, text, p. 90.

[9] Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 235–36.

[10] Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[11] *Cf.* Vincent Smith, *Early History of India* (4th ed.), 1924, p. 237, says that Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, king of Bactria, conquered this portion of India in *circa* 190 B.C.

it may be stated that he must have conquered it most probably in the same year.

What happened to the Ābhīras after this subjection by the Greeks is little known, but it is certain that little is heard of them until the second century after Christ. Considered to be Śūdras from very early times,[12] they were looked down upon by the Brāhmaṇas. But under the Kṣatrapas they slowly rose to positions of trust and responsibility. A record of the reign of the Kṣatrapa Rudradāman, dated A.D. 181, says: "During the reign of the king, the Kṣatrapa, Lord Rudrasinha (Rudrasiṁha), the son of the king, the Mahākṣatrapa Lord Jayadāman (and) son's son of the king, the Mahākṣatrapa Lord Caṣṭaṇa, the well was caused to be dug and embanked by the general (*Senāpati*) Rudrabhūti, son of Bāpaka, the Ābhīra, at the village (*grāma*) of Rasopadra for the welfare and comfort of all living beings".[13] From this epigraph we may infer that the Ābhīras from their low positions rose to high posts like that of *Senāpati* under the Kṣatrapas, assumed distinctly Āryan names,[14] and performed acts of piety and public utility.[15]

Once some of these Ābhīras became generals, they did not find it difficult to aspire to kingship. A Nāsik inscription of an Ābhīra named Īśvarasēna, dated in his regnal year, styles him as a king. It states: "Success! in the ninth year of king Īśvarasēna, the Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta,

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[12] *Mahābhārata*, IX, 37, 2119; also XIV, 29, 832.

[13] *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, No. 17, p. 236; *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 157: *Rohiṇinakṣatra muhūrte Abhīreṇa Senāpati Bāpakasya putrēṇa senāpati Rudrabhūtinā grāme Rasopadriye vāpi khaniti bandha pitasca sarva sattvānām hila sukhārthamiti.*

[14] Buhler, *Ind. Ant.*, p. 157.

[15] On the Ābhīras in general, read Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 274 (3rd ed.); Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 478; Lassen, *Ind. Altertsk*, pp. 106, 652 (2nd ed.); Rapson, *Grdr. Indo Ar. Phil.*, II, 3 B, p. 22 par. 22; Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 224, 543; Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. History of Ancient India*, pp. 58, 283, 314, 319, 343 (2nd ed.); Jayaswal, *History of India*, pp. 86, 91–92, 110, 128, 163–64, 170–71, 220–21, 233–38.

the Ābhīra, son of Māḍhari, on the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of summer, by the lay devotee Viṣṇudatta, the Śakānī, mother of the *Gaṇapaka* Viśvavarma, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* Rebhila, daughter of Agnivarma, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *Saṅgha* of monks of whatever sect or origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling (at Gōvardhana), *viz.*, in the hands of the guild of Kularikas, one thousand kārṣāpaṇas of the guild of Odayantrikas, two thousand of the guild of····five hundred of the guild of oil-millers···· and those kārṣāpaṇas····"[16] This inscription informs us that Īśvarasēna was a king, but his father is not called a ruler. Therefore in all likelihood he became a ruler himself, though not as a descendant in a royal line. The same humanitarian motive noticed in the inscription of the Kṣatrapa Caṣṭaṇa is also present in this case. The mention of the technical term '*Gaṇapaka*' shows that the Ābhīras were familiar with corporate village organisations, for '*Gaṇapaka*' implies a membership of a *gaṇa* (a republican body), a term which survived even to the times of the Imperial Guptas, during whose sovereignty mention is made of a *Gaṇaśresṭa*.[17]

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[16] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII (15), p. 85; text, p. 88: " *Siddhaṁ rājñah Māḍhariputtrasya Śivadatt-Ābhīraputrasya* (2) *Ābhīrasy-Ēśvarasenasya saṁvatsare navama(e)* (3) *mhapake cothe* 4 *divase trayodasa* 13 (4) *yapuvaya (vāya ?) śak-Āgnivarmmaṇaḥduhitā(trā ?) gaṇapaka (gaṇāpaka?)* (5) *Rebhilasya bharyayā (bhāryayā ?) gaṇa akasya (gaṇāpaka) Viśvavarmasya* (6) *trāśakanikayā (gāśākānikā?) upāsikāya Viṣṇudatāyā (Viṣṇudattayā ?) sarvasatvahi* (7) *tasukārtham (sukārtha ?) Triraśmi parvate vihāra vāstavyasya cāturdiśa (cātudiśa[ya])* (8) *bhikṣu saṁghasya (bhikhusaṅghasya?)*, etc., etc.; read also Buhler, *Aswi.*, IV, pp. 103–4; Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the " Bodhi " Dynasty*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

[17] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, pp. 289, 291; Yājñavalkya, I, v. 300; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, II, pp. 65, 107.

The identity of Īśvaradatta, known to us from his coins, is a matter of controversy. Bhagwanlal Indraji maintains that the Ābhīras were connected with the Kṣatrapas as in the inscriptions some of them are mentioned as commanders of Kṣatrapa armies. "One of them, indeed," he remarks, "seems to have gained considerable power and to have established himself as a ruler in the Deccan. It is not impossible that Īśvaradatta may have been one of his descendants who added to the power bequeathed to him, and, having proceeded as far as Gujarat, assumed the title of a Mahākṣatrapa....Īśvaradatta was, in all probability, a descendant of these kings, if we may judge from his name and his method of chronology".[18] Rapson[19] however while agreeing with Bhagwanlal Indraji that Īśvaradatta was an Ābhīra connected with the dynasty represented at Nāsik by Īśvarasēna, says that Īśvarasēna was not identical with Īśvaradatta,[20] and that the latter should be placed after A.D. 236 (*i.e.*, A.D. 236–39).[21] The Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta struck coins of precisely the same style and type as those of the Western Kṣatrapas; but it is certain that he did not belong to the same dynasty.[22]

Bhandarkar on the other hand identifies, on the basis of his new coins, Īśvarasēna with Īśvaradatta. He says: "Iśvaradatta has been supposed to be of Ābhīra extraction both by Pandit Bhagwanlal and Professor Rapson. This seems to be a very likely supposition; but this supposition can agree only with the date assigned by me to Īśvaradatta. For we have got an inscription in cave X at Nāsik which refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, son of Śivadatta. With regard to the characters of this period, Bhagwanlal rightly remarks that 'in form they greatly resemble the letters of Rudradāman's Girnār inscription (Kṣatrapa era 72) or are perhaps a little later'. This brings Īśvarasēna of the Nāsik inscription to *circa* 100 and also close

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18 *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 657.

19 Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins, op. cit.*, pp. cxxxiv–v.

20–21 *Ibid.*, pp. cxxxv–vi.

22 *Ibid.*, p. cxxxiii.

to the M. K. Īśvaradatta whom I have assigned to 110–12 ".[23] The same authority is of opinion that Īśvarasēna was Īśvaradatta who conquered Mālwa, Gujarāt, Kathiāvār and Mahārāṣṭra, placing him immediately after Yajña Śātakarṇī in A.D. 188–90.[24] We may therefore conclude that the Ābhīras had attained great predominence and usurped the position of Mahākṣatrapa about this time.[25]

In the third century the Ābhīras fell a prey to the victorious arms of the Kadambas. The Candravaḷḷi record of the Kadamba ruler Mayūraśarma assigned by Dr. Krishna to *circa* A.D. 258 informs us the following: " (This) tank (was) constructed by Mayūraśarman of the Kadambas who (has) defeated Trēkūṭa, Ābhīra, Pallava, Pāriyātrika, Sakasthāna, Sayindaka, Punāṭa and Mōkari ".[26] We are thus led to conclude that the great Mayūraśarma conquered a vast stretch of territory which belonged to his predecessors the Śātavāhanas.

But at the end of the same century however the Ābhīras suddenly flashed into the political limelight again. They are

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[23] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1913–14, pp. 230–31 ; *cf.* Smith, who follows him, *Early History of India*, p. 226 (note) (3rd ed.). Smith says that the Ābhīras rose under the Śakas. Rapson is of opinion that in the Nāsik region the " Āndhras were succeeded by a dynasty of Ābhīras " (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. xliv) ; he places the rise of the Kadambas in the Banavāsi region and that of the Ābhīras in Mahārāṣṭra at " some time in the first half of the third century A.D." (*ibid.*). He also states that the inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna is an " inscription dated in the seventh year of the Āndhra king Śrī-Yajña whose reign probably ended in *c.* 200 A.D." (*ibid.*, p. cxxxiv).

[24] *ASI.*, *ibid.*, p. 230 ; *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 156.

[25] The establishment of the Traikūṭa era in A.D. 249 is attributed to the Ābhīras. See Bhagwanlal Indraji, *ibid.* ; Rapson, *ibid.*, pp. xliv, cxxxvi, clxii ; Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 568. The Candravaḷḷi inscription however distinctly mentions Trēkūṭa and Ābhīra separately, though they seem to have been contiguous territories.

[26] *Mys. Archl. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 50, 56–58 : *Kadambāṇam Mayūrasammaṇā viṇimmiam* (2) *taṭākam dūbha Trēkūṭa Ābhīra Pallava Pāri* (3) *yātrika Sakasthā(ṇa) Savindaka Puṇāṭa Mōkari(ṇā).*

mentioned in the bilingual Paikuli inscription of the Persian usurper Narseh who caused the epigraph to be set up. It gives an account of the war in A.D. 293 between himself and Varhrān III.[27] Dr. Herzfeld who edited this unique record remarked thus on its importance: "......In our inscription the Ābhīrān Śāh is one of the prominent Mahākṣatrapas ruling over the Indian territory of Sakastān".[28] The situation seems to have been the following. Just as the Śakas supported Hormizd against his brother Varhrān II, in A.D. 283–84, ten years later the *lord of Avanti* who had by now become a vassal of the Sasanian Sakānshāh[29] and several Indian potentates acquiesced in the new regime. "At the end of the inscription, we meet among the independent princes who congratulated Narseh on his accession, a great number of princes whom, with greater or lesser certainty, we must consider as Indian Śākas. In the second group of princes of royal rank, we have Béruván í Spandár (á) tán, the Páradán sháh, perhaps Varázgárte sháh, the king of Ábhírá, and probably Siká....whose name is incomplete, whose title is missing. And the last group opened by words *sátrap góṅak góṅak* 'all sorts of satraps,' evidently consists without exception of Śāka kṣatrapas from India".[30] We are unable to explain when the Ābhīras became independent again after the Kadaṁba conquest. Future research alone may throw light on this period of Indian history.

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[27] Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, Vol. I, 1924, pp. 35, 44.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 126: Herzfeld observes that in the last passage of the inscription of Paikuli all these Śaka Kṣatrapas and princes are mentioned as *independent* princes. Hence it is to be finally inferred that the actual sovereignty over the Indian parts of Śakastān was lost in A.D. 293, during this civil war, and that these small principalities had gained their independence on this occasion only to lose it again 100 years later when Candragupta II finally cast his sway over them (*ibid.*, p. 43).

[29–30] Herzfeld, *Paikuli I.*, *op. cit.*, p. 43. The relevant portions of the Paikuli Inscription (translation) are as follows :—

LINE 24 : " .... *straight to the country of Asúristán they do not*

In the fourth century the Ābhīras were subjugated by Samudragupta the Great. His Allahabad *praśasti* clearly says: " ....Whose imperious commands were fully gratified, by giving all (*kinds of*) taxes and obeying (*his*) orders and coming to perform obeisance, by the frontier kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartṛipura, and other (countries), and by the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānikas, Kākas, Kharparikas, and other (tribes)".[31]

Though Daṇḍin in *circa* sixth century A.D. informs us that the Ābhīras spoke the Apabhraṁśa dialect,[32] from the

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come....with that army come together....own....Sakánsháh, and Vahunám until (*or: up to?*)....Tandy, *and by* (?) *them*

LINE 25: " *the lord of Avantí, the Sakánsháh and Vahunám,.... Tran I arrive....Eránsháhr Adam king a letter I send*' (*Pikuli, op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107).

LINE 44: " *And the king of the Kúshán....and to us the Cæsar ....and the Roman....*

LINE 45: ....(42) " *and the king of Khwárizm, and Zámásp the ....pat of the Kúshdán, and Dígpambak* (?) *the....and Sayyidí, the Shaikh of the Arabs, and Pák, the eunuch, and Béruván, son of* (?) *Spandorát, and the king of the Páradan, and Varāĕgurt the king, and the king of Žand-Afrík and the king of Makúrán, and X, the king of...., and Tírdát the king, and 'Amru, the descendant of the Abgars,....and the king of Ábhírá, and Siká*, etc., etc. (*op. cit.*, p. 117).

LINE 48: " *....the lord of the...., and the other princes....our instruction they become, and the whole Empire anew* (?) *I wish* (?) (*or: they congratulated me*) *and some came personally to our Porte, others envoys....*Pakr...., *and by* (?) *him the Empire, and the place....and to our service they come....he holds, on him they say....*" (*Paikuli, op. cit.*, p. 119). *Cf.* the tenor of this inscription with the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta. The Paikuli inscription has been noticed by Jayaswal in his *History of India*, Appendix E, pp. 233–41, where he has some illuminating remarks to make. He dates the victory of Narseh in A.D. 294, p. 235. Rapson also noticed this inscription, *op. cit.*, p. cxxxiv, Note (1).

[31] Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 14. Text, p. 8: *Samataṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa-Nēpāla-Karttṛipur-ādi-pratyanta-nṛipatibhir = Mmālav-Ārjunāyana-Yaudhēya-Mādrak-Ābhīra-Prārjuna Sanakānika-Kāka-Kharparik-ādibhiś = ca sarvvakaradān-ājñākāraṇa praṇāmāgamana.*

[32] Daṇḍin, *Kāvyādarśa*, p. 3, v. 36 (ed. Belvalkar, 1924): " *Ābhīrādigiraḥ kāvyeṣvapabhraṁśa iti smṛtaḥ*". *Cf. Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, 432: "*ābhīreṣu tathābhīrī prayōktvyā* ".

fifth to the ninth century little is indeed heard of the activities of the Ābhīras in the Deccan.

In the tenth century however they are mentioned as a turbulent people. The Ghaṭiyāla plates of Kakkuka, a feudatory of the Pratihāra rulers, who obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Valla and Mada, and dated Saṁvat 918 (*Caitra Śudi* 2 *budhē hasta nakṣatrē*) relates how the village of Rohinsakūpaka (Ghaṭiyāla) formerly unsafe on account of the Ābhīras (Āhīrs) had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. He constructed there a market-place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas (*Prakritī*) and Vaiśyas and promising them means of livelihood, established the big-folk (*Mahājana*).[33] This allusion probably implies that the Ābhīras of the locality were conquered by this feudatory of the Pratihāras in the tenth century.

From the eleventh century the Ābhīras again appear as a power in the Deccan. The Nāgai inscription of the Western Cāḷukya monarch Sōmeśvara I, Trailokyamalla-Āhavamalla, dated A.D. 1058, avers that his general Madhusūdana, also named Mādhava Daṇḍa-Trinētra, shook the power of the Cōḷa, wiped out of existence the Āndhra, vanquished the Malaya king, uprooted the lord of the Anga (country), destroyed the Ponnāṭa ruler, rent asunder the Śaka king, disgraced the Ābhīra (king), drove out (of his capital) the Lord of Dhārā and caused to set (*i.e.*, to die) the Magadha king.[34] A record of the same monarch dated

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[33] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 280 :
Rohinsakūpagrāmaḥ pūrva masīdanāśrayaḥ |
asēvyaḥ sādhulōkānām abhīra janadāruṇaḥ ||
Cf. Ābhīrapallī, a village donated to a Matta Māyura ascetic, figures in a record of the eleventh century. See *ASI.*, *WE*, 1921, p. 51 ; *MASI.*, No. 24, p. 113.

[34] *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 8, *The Inscriptions of Nagai*, C, p. 7 ; text, p. 13 : (Lines 130–33) "....*cāḷita-cōḷam, balit-Āṁdhram da-lita-Maḷayan- = unmi (mū) ḷit Āmgēśan = utpātita-Ponnātam vidārī-kṛita Saka-mahi- pam dūṣit-Ābhīran = ucchāṭita (Dhārā) nāthan-astaṁgata Magadha-nṛpam Daṇḍanatha Trinētraṁ.* In this connection it is interesting to note that Punnāṭa is mentioned as Ponnaṭa

A.D. 1068, relates how "for a long time Āhavamalla was happy, the master of undiminished wealth, slaying Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti, Vañga, Drāviḍa, Kuru, Khasa, Ābhīra, Pāñcāla, Lāḷa and others so that a stench arose, plundering them and taking tribute together with their forces reduced to servitude."[35] An epigraph of Vikramāditya VI, dated A.D. 1084, states that his general Śrī Vallabha conquered the Surāṣṭras, Cēras, Ābhīras and others.[36] His brother Vikramānka in A.D. 1114 is likewise credited with the conquest of the Śabaras, Ābhīras, Āndhras and Gollas.[37]

The Ābhīras continued to remain a militant people and came into conflict with the Cāḷukyas of Aanhila Pāṭaka. The Prachi inscription of Kumārapāla refers to the Ābhīras in the following words:

" *srgiamodevo bali yatkhangāhatabhi tikampatara lairābhīravīraih stita* ".

On the strength of this reference to them it has been suggested that these Ābhīras "may have constituted the army of the Vāja chiefs of Somanath Paṭṭaṇa, who had acquired the place from the Muhammadan colony left behind by Muhammad of Ghaznī."[38] It is agreed that the conquest of Somnāth Paṭṭaṇa by Muhammad of Ghaznī took place between A.D. 1025 (year 416) according to older historians like Al-Biruni, Gardizi, Ibn Zafīr and Ibnu'l-Athīr and A.D. 1027 (year 416) according to later historians like Adh'-Dhahabi and al-Yāfī-'fī-'ī.[39]

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so late as the eleventh century. On Punnaṭa, read Saletore, *Indian Culture*, III, No. 2, pp. 303–17.

[35] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 136, p. 101, text, p. 181 : "*adhīśan Ahavamallam Ma dravanti Vanga Dravila Kuru Khas Ābhīra Pāncāla Lālā digalam pes eḷekondum kavardum asadaḷam koṭṭajam gonḍum āḷ ōḷige danḍum.*"

[36] *E. I.*, XV, No. 6, p. 104.

[37] *Ibid*,, Sk. 137, text, p. 104 ; *Sauvīra Āndhra Golla prabhritigal, avanī, pālakar.*

[38] Diskalkar, Prachi Inscription of Kumārapāla, *Poona Orientalist* I, No. 4, p. 39.

[39] Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Muhammad of Ghazna*, 1931, p. 214.

Dr. Muhammad Nazim discredits the tradition that Muhammad of Ghazna appointed a deputy at Pāṭaṇ after his departure as such an inference is "not supported by any work written before the middle of the ninth century A.H. which is the probable date of the composition of the *Waṣāya-i-Nizamu'l-Mulk.* Gardiz, p. 65, in fact suggests, on the contrary, that the Hindu Governor of Somnath who had fled at the approach of the Sultan, returned after the departure of the Muslim army."[40] Thus the conclusion that a colony was left by Muhammad becomes unfounded.

If this be the case, on whom then did the Ābhīras fall obviously after the return of this Muslim conqueror? His contemporary was Parama Bhīma who left behind three sons: Karṇa, Mūlarāja and Kṣemarāja (Haripāla?). Mūlarāja died in his father's life-time and the crown was then offered to Kṣemarāja who refused it and induced his father to crown Karṇa according to *Dvāśraya.*[41] The *Prabhanda Cintāmaṇi* tells us that this ruler undertook expeditions against a Bhilla, the Mālavas and appears to have been probably defeated by the Naddula Cāhamana Prithvipāla.[42] The chroniclers further relate that Karṇa was succeeded in A.D. 1150 by Jayasimha Siddharāja, Karṇa's son by Māyaṇalladevi.[43] During his reign there was an incursion of the Ābhīras according to Merutunga, who says that the Ābhīra ruler Navaghana *alias* Khengāra, having defeated the Cāḷukyan forces eleven times "had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna (Wadhwān) and other cities". Marching in person against him, Jayasimha killed Navaghana and appointed Sajjana as his *Daṇḍādhipati* "to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra".[44] That Sajjana must have actually ruled there is borne out by his inscription dated A.D. 1120 (V.S. 1176) in the temple

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 220; also see Ray, *Dy Hy of Northern India*, II, p. 962.
[41] *I.A.*, IV, p. 233.
[42] *E.I.*, IX, v. 22, pp. 72, 76.
[43] *B.G.I.*, Pt. I, p. 170, fn. 5.
[44] *Prabhanda Cintāmaṇi*, pp. 95–96.

of Neminātha at Girnar.[45] It is evidently to such an invasion that Kumārapāla's record refers.[46]

The Cāḷukyas of Aṇahila-Pāṭaka finally subdued the Ābhīras, according to the *Kumārapālacarita.* This work relates how the great Kumārapāla, in the twelfth century, commenced his *digvijaya* during which Javalapura, the Sapādalakṣa country, Kuru *maṇḍala*, Citrakūṭa, Avantideśa, surrendered to him. After their conquest, he rested for some time in the Revā-tīrtha on the banks of the Narmada. Crossing the river, he entered the Ābhīra-*viṣaya* and compelled the lord of the Prakāśa *nagari* to become his vassal. As the Vindhyas obstructed his further advance he turned westwards and overcame the king of Lāṭa.[47] The same poem tells us how, after his conversion to Jainism, Kumārapāla, promulgated like another Aśōka a humanitarian edict prohibiting the slaughter of animals in his kingdom. The decree was enforced in Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Ābhīra, Medapaṭa, Maru and Sapādalakṣa.[48]

These references to the position of the country inhabited by the Ābhīras in the twelfth century appears to have been the same as that which was occupied by them from the epic age. As the *Kumārapālacarita* shows the Ābhīra kingdom must have been situated to the south of the river Narmadā which king Kumārapāla is said to have crossed in order to enter

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[45] *B.G.*, Pt. I, pp. 176–77 ; Ray, *op. cit.*, II, p. 969.

[46] *Note.*—The Ābhīra chiefs of Saurāṣṭra, according to some scholars, belonged to the Cūḍāsama tribe, which settled in Sind and in Kathiavar between *circa* A.D. 920–40. "The Cūḍasamas are still commonly called Āhera-rāṇnas" *B.G.I.*, Pt. I, pp. 137, 139. There are some inscriptions of these Cūḍāsamas in Vanthali in Junaghad which was once the capital of the Ābhīra chief, *Ant. Rem. of the Bombay Presy.*, pp. 176, 178–79, 316–17. *A.S.W.I.*, II, pp. 159–64. The Ābhīras also appear to have been closely connected with the Sammas of Sind. *B.G.I.*, Pt. I, p. 138, also Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, p. 266.

[47] Someśvara, *Kumārapālacarita*, Canto IV, v. 581 ; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, pp. 985–86.

[48] *Ibid.*, Canto VII, vs. 581–82 ; Ray, *Ibid.*, p. 993.

the Ābhīra-*viṣaya* and to the east of Lāṭa first, because it is mentioned next to this kingdom and secondly, because on conquering the Ābhīras and the king of Prakāśa-nagara, Kumārapāla turned westwards and subdued the lord of Lāṭa. This region was evidently the Aparāntaka in the western division of India, where, according to the *Mahābhārata*, the Ābhīras dwelt.[49] Patañjali locates them in the Sindu-deśa.[50] *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, recording the geography of the first century[51] and Ptolemy, likewise, in the second century[52] support these assertions. The Purāṇās too confirm this statement. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* they are said to have lived in the extreme west with the Surāṣṭrās, Śūdras, Arbudas and others along the Pāripātra mountains,[53] while the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* says that the Ābhīras, Bāhlikas, Surāṣṭras and the rest all lived in the Aparāntaka country.[54]

Not only were the Ābhīras attacked, plundered and subdued by the Cāḷukyas, but they also came into conflict with the Hoysalas. The Hoysala Vīra Baḷḷāla II, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1190, is stated to have been a "thunderbolt to the rock, the Ahīra king".[55] It is not improbable that after the third century they lost their independence as rulers although they might have, by fits and starts, aspired to kingship at different periods until the eleventh century. The fact that they always clashed with the prominent powers of the Karnāṭaka indirectly shows that they must have attained a reasonable status of importance in the sphere of South Indian politics. We are unable to identify

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[49] *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, Sec. 51, p. (Ray).

[50] *Patañjali*, I. 2. 3 ; also see A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (1938), p. 33.

[51] *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 39. (ed. W. H. Schoff, 1912).

[52] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 140 (1885).

[53] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Bk. II, Ch. III, pp. 132–35 (Wilson).

[54] *Markandēya Purāṇa*, Ch. 57, vs. 35–36.

[55] *Ep. Car.*, V, Cn. 179, p. 202 ; text, p. 463 "*Ahirá Rāya Śailadaṁbhōḷi.*"

the Ābhīra kings who succumbed to the onslaught of the might of the Cāḷukya and the Hoysala.

The Yādavas of Dēvagiri in the thirteenth century in their turn swooped on the Ābhīras who till now had been systematically annihilated by the Guptas of the north, and the Kadaṁbas, Cāḷukyas and Hoysalas of the south. During the reign of the Yādava ruler Singhaṇa II, in A.D. 1215 we again hear of the Ābhīras. According to an epigraph, issued in this year, "a dweller at his lotus feet (with various epithets) was the Ahīra Jaita. When this celebrated Jaitugi Deva, being in the residence of Hiriya Baḷḷigāve, was protecting Jiḍḍuḷige and other districts of the south, he gave for the god Kōṭinātha, which, according to the *purāṇa* was the original *linga* and this a holy *tīrtha*—his own village of Śakuna".[56] Consequently it may be inferred that during the rule of the Yādavas of Devagiri, at least in the reign of Singhaṇa II, some of the conquered Ābhīras were elevated to the status of governors. The epithets "*atula-bhuja bala tungangeṇey āro parama viśvāsi-yolam bhanga virahitam*" indicate that the Ābhīra Jaituga Deva was indeed a personality of considerable consequence. He is said to have ruled over several districts but is nevertheless not described with any title of sovereignty, thus suggesting his subordinate position. He was pious enough to grant his own village for maintaining the services of god Koṭinātha, evidently being a person of the locality. He was probably a viceroy in charge of the southern districts of the Yādava kingdom. This pious-minded official, it may be incidentally remarked, is reminiscent of the equally philanthropic Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti in the second century.

In the thirteenth century, however, the Yādavas once more commenced their inroads on the independence of the

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[56] *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 276, p. 48, text, p. 99 : "*tad-pāda padmōpa jīvi II Sangaradoḷ atula-bhuja-baḷa I tuṅgaṅg eṇeyāro parama-viśvās-iyoḷam I bhanga virahitanu birudara I kaṅgaḷa muḷḷ enisi negaḷdan Āhira Jaitaṁ II va II Antu-negaḷda Āhīra-Jaitugi-Deva Hiriya Baḷḷigāveya nela vīḍinoḷ irddu mukhayava -āda dakṣiṇa diśvārava-ramam duṣṭa nigraha-śiṣṭa pratipālanadim pālisuttam irddu.*"

Ābhīras. Kings and generals alike appear to have fallen on the turbulent and yet unconquered Ābhīras until slowly they disappeared from the scene of history as an independent people. The great general Khōleśvara is said to have routed the Ābhīras in A.D. 1228.[57] He was the commander of the Yādava king Singhaṇa II and was evidently instrumental in effecting the conquest of some territory occupied by the Ābhīras in Singhaṇa's expedition to Gujarat.[58] But most probably these ever-restless people were not completely subdued, for again mention is made of expeditions against them. The *prauḍha pratāpa cakravarti* Kanha Deva, another Yādava monarch, in A.D. 1255 is described in an epigraph as a "wilderness to the forest the Ābhīra-kula".[59] Such a statement implies, first, that this king Kanha Deva continued the traditional policy of his predecessors and secondly, that the Ābhīras, far from being either exterminated or completely subdued, were still surviving in large numbers so as to be called the forest of the Abhira *kula*.

Once again twenty-one years later, the Yādavas attempted to subdue the Ābhīras but after this period little is heard of these people, as they must have been practically a shattered race. An incomplete inscription, which may be assigned to the times of the Yādava king Rāmadeva, dated A.D. 1276, calls him among other things, "the sole great fire in burning the forest of trees and bamboo groves, the terrible marauder king of Ābhīra (named) Gambhīra".[60] It has been suggested that the word "*gambhīra*" may be a qualifying epithet meaning profound[61] but it is not unlikely that a leader of the Ābhīras, having that name, is mentioned.

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[57] *A.S.W.I.*, III, p. 85; *B.G.* I., Pt. 2, p. 240.

[58] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 242; *B.G.*, *op. cit.*

[59] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 136, p. 18, text, p. 39; "*Ābhīra kula gahana dāvānaḷam.*"

[60] *M.A.R.*, 1929, No. 69, p. 143:....*mada daḷana pañcānana Gambhīrābhīra pracaṇḍa-nikhila kula kāntāra Vamśāvaḷi dahana mahāmade* (*ai*) *kānala.*

[61] *Amuktamālyada*, IV, 206; *Journal of Indian History*, IV, p. 65.

After their practical destruction as a political factor of importance in Southern India, the Ābhīras sank into an insignificance from which, unfortunately, they never recovered. Unlike the ferocious Bhils, who of course remained a powerful tribe till the eighteenth century, the Ābhīras were ultimately crushed by the Hoysalas and their political successors, the emperors of Vijayanagara. These primitive people finally came to be considered a wild tribe inhabiting the forests in the sixteenth century in Southern India. This is clear from a reference to them in a work of the Vijayanagara emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, styled the *Āmuktamālyada*. Therein he refers to them as a typical wild tribe in the following words : "It is essential that a king should be able to enforce his commands. Even the Ābhīras and the Bhils of the forest are able to enforce their orders by the sign of the arrow and the piece of thread."[62] The Ābhīras therefore dwindled into a forest people during the zenith of the Vijayanagara rule with their own organisation and their symbols of mutual communication. Such was the fate of the Ābhīras, who present a unique example of an insignificant tribe rising into political prominence from the second century onwards and after a series of vicissitudes relapsing into oblivion in the heyday of the celebrated Vijayanagara Empire.

It is interesting to note that in Mahārāṣṭra today there is a class of Brāhmaṇs named the Āhira Brāhmans ; but how their origin can be traced is a matter of controversy. Moreover there is a *rāga* in South Indian Music called Āhīrī and the reason for its popularity is still obscure.[63]

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[62] *Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Comm. Volume*, p. 401. It is believed that the Āhīrs or shepherds occupied the Sātpuḍa hills near Nīrmār. The last of the Āhīrs, Āsa, the shepherd king, is said to have built the fort of Asirgaḍ shortly before A.D. 1370, *B.G.* I, Pt. 2, p. 619.

[63] *Note.*—The Āhīri melody is mentioned by Matanga as one of the minor melodies (*bhāṣā-gītis*) affiliated to the major melody of Pancama-rāga. It must have been a snake-charmer's melody as is suggested by iconographic and pictorial suggestions.

Cf. Annals Bh. Or. Res. Inst., XIX, Pt. III, p. 268.

THE OLD TAMIL VERB

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

Introduction

The study of the historical evolution of the Tamil language would become possible only if by way of preliminary work the linguistic peculiarities of all extant old texts and documents are listed,[1] classified, and analysed.

The earliest Tam. documents that supply useful data to the student of Tamil Linguistics are the so-called Śaṅgam texts constituted of the Eṭṭuttogai (comprising Puṟaṅāṉūṟu, Padiṯṯuppattu, Agaṅāṉūṟu, Naṯṯiṉai, Kuṟuṅdogai, Aiṅguṟuṅūṟu, Kalittogai and Paripāḍal)[2], Pattuppāṭṭu[3] and Padiṉeṇkīḻkkaṇakku (comprising among others the famous Kuṟaḷ and Ńālaḍi).[4]

Neither the indigenous grammarians nor western students of Tamil have attempted a full and systematic analysis of the linguistic features of these early texts. While historical studies of the evolution of Tamil generally remained outside the purview of all the earlier indigenous grammarians, western scholars like Pope and Vinson who, besides giving us excellent descriptive accounts of what they called High

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[1] In the transliteration of Tamil sounds in this essay, I have used the symbol *ɯ* for the lip-spread back vowel, and *u* for the lip-rounded back vowel.

n′ is the spread-blade dental of Old Tam., while *ṉ* is the point-contact alveolar nasal.

ṯṯ stands for the long alveolar plosive, and *ṉḏ* for the group formed of the alveolar nasal and alveolar plosive.

ṟ stands for what originally was a short alveolar plosive but what afterwards became a palato-cerebral trill.

ḻ is the peculiar retroflex continuant of Tamil.

[2] Abbreviated hereinafter as PN, PP, AN, NT, KuṟT, Aiṅg., KT and Parip. respectively.

[3] Abbreviated as PaP.

[4] Abbreviated as K and Ńāl. respectively.

Tamil, also ventured here and there to demarcate the features of an earlier period from those of later ones, were not in a position (owing to the fact that in their time many of the Śaṅgam texts had not been published) to discuss illustrations from Śaṅgam texts except Kuṟaḷ and Ńāladi.

Of late, one or two Indian scholars have turned their attention to some of the aspects of the linguistic peculiarities of Śaṅgam texts ; but the ground traversed is yet very little. It is to be hoped that more and more scholars will direct their attention to the discussion of Śaṅgam Tamil.

The morphology of the Old Tam. verb is one of the most important chapters in the study of the evolution of Tamil. The wealth and the diversity of the verb-forms of the Śaṅgam texts are such as would make their study indispensable alike to the student of Tamil and to the Dravidianist who is concerned with the larger task of inter-dialectal comparisons. Many of the verb-forms of the earliest Śaṅgam texts show sharp differences[5] from those employed in post-Śaṅgam documents. Though it may not always be safe to postulate that the forms occurring in the earlier texts signalise an earlier condition in linguistic evolution, particularly in view of the fact that the language of the earliest extant literary texts shows an extraordinary maturity of development such as may well be associated with a Kunstsprache or Schriftsprache which is different from the actual living speech, many of the features mirrored in the earliest texts may be shown, on the strength of phonetic analysis and inter-dialectal Dravidian comparisons, to be anterior in

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[5] It is the language of the Śaivite and the Vaiṣṇavite hymnists (from about the fifth to the ninth century A.D.), that evidences these sharp differences. The Kāvyas Cilappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai, though showing linguistic divergences from the Śaṅgam texts, do not have all the strikingly numerous developments met with in the language of the hymnists. The religious ecstasy of these bhaktas led them to use for the outpourings of their heart a colloquial language which had perhaps already become well established and widespread in the land.

evolution to the forms of what chronologically might be called post-Śaṅgam periods.

The chronology of the Śaṅgam texts has not yet emerged from the region of debate, though there is little doubt that PaP and Eṭṭuttogai do contain some of the earliest extant documents of Tamil. These works are collections or anthologies, and so it is quite possible that they may have been composed at different periods ; but I have noted (particularly in PN, AN, PP, NT, Aiṅg., Kuṟ T and in PaP such a large number of common linguistic features that the conclusion is irresistible that these features mark a certain common *linguistic stage* in the history of Tam. whatever the period of composition of each of the different works may have been ; and there is little doubt that this linguistic stage is deep-based on an active colloquial that may once have been current in the land. Linguistically viewed, Kuṟaḷ and (to a far greater extent) Ńālaḍi, both of which according to Tam. literary tradition belong to the Padiṉeṉkīḻkaṇakku collection evidence the maximum number of forms allied to the language of a later stage ; further, even among the texts of the Eṭṭuttogai collection, I find that KT and Parip. show peculiarities and divergences allied to forms of a later stage. I have indicated in the following pages these variations in connection with each category, and have also summed them up at the end of my essay. The different *linguistic* stages[6] may, I think, be graphically represented thus :

Earliest linguistic stages of Old Tamil	Late Old Tamil	Transitional Middle Tamil	Middle Tamil
Large portions of PN, PP, AN, NT, KuṟT, Aiṅg. and PaP	KT, Parip., K.	Cilappadigāram	The works of the bhaktas, *viz.*, Ńālāyirapprabandham and Tēvaram

[6] The evidence supplied by the analysis of the Old Tam. verb for the demarcation of these *linguistic* stages is supported by the examination of other linguistic features also. See my papers on the language of Kuṟaḷ and of Kalittogai.

I have adverted to the *sūtras* of the earliest indigenous Tamil grammar,[7] wherever I have found them useful for elucidating the morphology of the forms. The date of composition of this grammar is not known. The postulate that this grammar is anterior[8] in origin and composition to all extant Tam. works is disputable on linguistic grounds. The antiquity of this grammar is, however, beyond all doubt and controversy, and its evidentiary value in illuminating the history of forms is certainly high, though it may not be quite safe to use this grammar as an absolute yard-stick for estimating the chronology of forms.

I have refrained from adducing extra-Tamil Dravidian analogies on a large scale in this paper; but I have done so in my comparative paper[9] on the Dravidian verb.

Verbal Bases

Tamil verbal bases many be classified under the following headings.

A. Simple or Primary Bases

1. (*a*) Monosyllabic bases with short vowels and final -*l*, -*ḷ*, -*ṉ*, -*ṇ*, -*y* :—

cel-, *uḷ*-, *tiṉ*-, *uṇ*-, *cey*-, *koy*-.

The past stems are formed with -*t*- the meeting of which with -*l*, -*ḷ*, -*ṉ*, -*ṇ*, involves sandhi changes (*cf.* my DS).

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[7] Tolkāppiyam, Colladigāram (abbreviated hereinafter as TC).—Here and there, I have also referred to the grammars Vīracōḻiyam and Ńaṉṉūl of a later period.

[8] Tamil tradition has it that the work was composed in what is described as the second Śaṅgam epoch, *i.e.*, at a time when according to the same tradition none of the extant Śaṅgam works had come into existence.

[9] Other papers of mine to which I have referred in the course of the present essay are the following:

"Dravidic Sandhi"—(abbreviated as DS);

"History of the Tam.-Mal. Alveolar Plosive"—(HAP).

I have also discussed the linguistic peculiarities of Kuṟaḷ and those of Kalittogai in two separate papers of mine.

(*b*) Bases with short radical vowels followed by -*ḻ-u*- and -*r-u*- in which the *u* appears in the past and the future stems :–

aḻ-u- (cf. *aḻudaṉaḷ* ; PN, 143)

toḻ-u- (cf. *toḻ-u-daṉaṉ* ; PN, 150)

por-u- (cf. *por-u-du* ; PN, 2)

eḻ-u- (cf. *eḻ-u-ṅdu* ; PN, 128)

tar- and *var*- show -*u*- only in their future stems.

2. Bases with -*l-l*-, -*ḷ-ḷ*-, -*ṉ-ṉ*-, *ṇ-ṇ*-, which show a vowel in their future stems but take only -*i*- in their past stems :—

uḷ-ḷ- (cf. *uḷḷi* ; PN, 135)

col-l-[10] (cf. *colliṉaiyē*- ; KT, 21)

eṇ-ṇ- (cf. *eṇṇi* ; NT, 32)

muṉ-ṉ- (cf. *muṉṉi*- ; NT, 71)

3. Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels and final -*l*, -*ḷ*, -*ṇ*, -*ṉ*, -*y*, -*r*, -*ḻ*. The past terms are, generally speaking, formed with (*ṅ*)-*d* :

pōl-, *āḷ*-, *īṉ*-, *kāṇ*- *māy*, *tīr*-, *tēy*-, *vīḻ*-, *pēṇ*-, *ṅāṇ*- embody -*i*- in their past stems, and -*u-v*- in their future stems.

4. Dissyllabic bases with short vowels and final -*l*, -*ḷ*, -*r*, -*ḻ*, the past stems of which show *ṅd*- or *ṉḏ*- (or sandhi modifications) :—

uḍal- (cf. *uḍaṉḏu* ; PN, 17)

uyar- (cf. *uyarṅdaṉḏu* ; PN, 204)

magiḻ- (cf. *magiḻṅdaṉḏum-ilamē* ;)

maruḷ- (cf. *maruṇḍu*[11] ; PN, 46)

aruḷ- (cf. *aruḷ-i* ; NT) and *muyal*- (cf. *muyali*, Aiṅg., 379) have past stems with -*i*.

5. Monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and with final -*ḍ*, -*g*, *ṟ*- have past stems with -*ṭṭ*, -*kk* and *ṯṯ* which are usually described as being due to "gemination" but which may primarily and fundamentally have been the resultants of the prehistoric *sandhi* action (cf. my DS) of the past affix -*t*- meeting respectively -*ḍ*, -*g* and -*ṟ* or their prehistoric representatives :—

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[10] The past stem *coṉṉ*- (< *coll-i-ṉ*-) is not met with in Śaṅgam texts. Forms like *coṉṉa* appear in the literature of the hymnists.

[11] But *maruḷ*- *iṉ-a* in PN, 90.

paḍ- (past stem *paṭṭ-*) ; similarly, *iḍ-*, *-viḍ,- toḍ-*, etc.

peṟ- (past stem *peṯṯ-*) ; similarly *aṟ-*, *uṟ-*, etc.

pug- (past stem *pukk-*[12]) ; similarly, *ńag-*, *tog-*, *mig-*.

6. Monosyllabic bases (*a*) with short or long radical vowels and final consonant-groups, and (*b*) with long radical vowels and final *-ḍ-*, *-ṟ*, *-g*. Their past stems show *-i-*, and the future stems have *-u-v-*.

añj-, *alg-*, *eyd-*, *ńīṅg-*, *ōṅg-*, *māńd-*, *vēṇḍ-*, *tōṉḏ-* ; *āḍ-*, *āg-*, *pōg-*,[13] *kūṟ-*.

Dissyllabics like *ńaḍuṅg-*, *kuṟug-* with similar finals (*i.e.*, those other than the finals mentioned in 4 above) show *-i-* in their past stems.

7. Monosyllabic bases which are mere vowels, or which have final vowels :—

ī- [past stem *ītt-* (cf. *ittaṉai* ; PN, 91)
or *īńd-* (cf. PN, 364)]

ńo- (past *ńońd-*)

8. Dissyllabic bases with final *-i* and *-ai*, with past stems generally formed with *ńd* :—

aṇi-, *iḻi*, *aṟi-* ; *amai-*, *aḍai-*, *miḍai-*.

B. Bases, some forms of which have the affix *-kk-*[14]

1. The affix *-kk* appears in the " indeterminate " tense (having *-um*), in the optatives, in the infinitives with noun

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[12] The past stem *pug-u-n'd-* of *pug-* appears only as a rare instance in Early Old Tamil ; cf. PN, 30 ; but in post-Śaṅgam texts (cf. Cilapp., Ūr., l. 115) it is very frequent.

[13] In the Śaṅgam texts, *āg-* and *pōg-* have the conjunctive participles *āg-i* and *pōg-i*, and the relative participles *āgiya* and *pōgiya*, though finite tense-forms like *āyiṉaṉ* and *pōyiṉar* and conditionals like *āyiṉ* are the usual forms.

āy, as a conjunctive particle, is not absent in Śaṅgam Tam. (cf. KT, 8) ; but the relative participles *āṉa*, *pōṉa* are only met with in post-Śaṅgam Tam., so far as I can see.

[14] Bases like *n'iṟ-(k)-* belonging to B 1 (past stem *n'iṉḏ-*, future stem *n'iṟp-*) and those like *kēṭ-(k)-* (past stem *kēṭṭ-*, and future stem *kēṭ-p-*) have only a short *-k-* corresponding to this *-kk-* (in spelling though in actual evaluation both *-kk* of *n'iṉaikka* and *-k-* of *n'iṟka* are given a half-long value to-day).

force, sometimes in the future finites, and sometimes in the conditionals (having *-iṉ*); the past stems are formed with *ńd-*, while the future stems show also *-pp-* instead of *-kk-u-v-*.

iru- (*kk*)- (cf, *iruńdu* ; PN, 3)
kiḍa- (*kk*) (cf. *kiḍańd-ōr* ; (PN, 19)
ciṟa- (*kk*)- (cf. *ciṟańdu* ; PaP, 7, 33)
ńiṉai- (*kk*)- (cf. *ńiṉaińdu* ; PN, 176)

(*ńiṉai-y-um* is a future relative participle in PN, 213 ; while *ńiṉai-kk-um* appears in PN, 217. *ńiṉaińd-* is the past stem in Śaṅgam Tam. *ńiṉaitt-* becomes popular only at a comparatively late stage.

2. In this group, *-kk-* appears in all those verbal forms in which it appears in B 1 above. The difference between the two groups lies in the fact that the past stems in the present group have *-tt-*,[15] while the past stems of B 1 have *ńd*.

Some Śaṅgam Tam. illustraions are the following :—

piḷai-(*kk*)- (cf. *piḷaittaṉeṉ* ; PN, 43)
eḍu- (*kk*)- (cf. *eḍuttu* ; PN, 169)
kuḷi- (*kk*)- (cf. *kuḷikkum* ; PN, 2)
paśi- (*kk*)- (cf. *paśittaṉḏu* ; PN, 318)

C. Transitivo-Causatival Formations

These correspond to the piṟaviṉai of Tam. grammatical terminology. All the groups mentioned below are true causatives in as much as they express the cause of actions done by others (whether persons or things).

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[15] The " explanation " given by Caldwell for *-kk-* appearing in a number of verb forms, for *-tt-* of the past stems and for the *pp* of the future stems is that these affixes are due to what he calls the " doubling " of different sounds. This explanation does not appeal very much to me.—The changes here are all prehistoric, and definitive theories are impossible ; yet I would suggest as an alternative that primarily *tt* (of the past stem) and *pp* (of the future stem) may have been due to the *sandhi* action of an original basal extension *-kk-* (or perhaps a voiceless short *-k* in a prehistoric past) on *t* and *v* respectively.—All such suggestions, however, remain without conclusive proof.

I use the hyphenated heading in order to envisage the fact that, in some of the groups mentioned below, the derivation involves conversion of intransitive bases to transitive ones, while in others the derivatives are formed both from transitives (primary and derivative) and from intransitives.

Bases belonging to 1, 2 and 3 below are derived from intransitive bases. Many instances are derivatives of intransitive bases, while there are some based on primary[16] transitive bases also. Bases belonging to 5 (which occur *numerously* only in the Middle Tam. stage) are derived both from intransitive bases and from transitive bases (primary and derivative).

1. (*a*) Bases (with the affix *-kk-* appearing in some of the verb-forms) formed from intransitive bases :

viḍ-u-(*kk*)- (PN, 210)
pug-u- (*kk*)- (KT, 101)
tog-u-(*kk*)- (PN, 13)
udir-(*kk*)- (PN, 29)
vīḻ-(*kk*)- (KT, 97)
oḻi- (*kk*)- (PN, 216)

The affix *-kk-* appears in the "determinate" tense, in infinitives having the force of nouns, optatives, sometimes in the future finites and sometimes in conditionals having *-iṉ-* ; the past stems have *-tt-*, and future stems have sometimes[17] *-pp-*.

The difference between this group and B 2 above is that the present group is based on *non*-transitival bases

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[16] Primary bases (classified as A by me in this essay) may be either intransitive or transitive.—Derivative bases classified by me as B may also be transitive or intransitive. Derivative bases classified by me as C are all transitive and causative : transitive because the action of the verb always governs an object, and causative because the verb indicates or expresses the "cause" of the action of one other than the subject.

[17] Future forms with *-kk-u-v-* instead of *-pp-* are met with in the earliest stages in connection with bases belonging to B 1, B 2, and C 1.

existing in the language, while no such simple bases are known to exist corresponding to B 2 above.

(*b*) Bases like *tolaicc-* (cf. *tolāicci* ; PN, 29) and *aḍaicc-* (cf. *aḍaicciya* ; KT, 5), met with in Śaṅgam texts perhaps owe their *-cc-* to the transference (to the bases) of the palatalised *cc* of the past stems of transitives like *aḍai-(kk)-*, *tolai-(kk)-*. This *-cc-* may be compared to the *-c-* of a number of Telugu and Kannada verbal bases.

2. (*a*) Transitival formations[18] with the affix *-tt-* " annexed " to non-transitival bases :—

cēr-tt- (PaP, 7, 165 ; PN, 245)
vāḻ-tt- (PN, 260)
cār-tt- (PaP, 4, 120, Parip. 19)
uṇar-tt- (PN, 28)
koḷ-u-tt- (cf. *koḷuttāmal* ; Parip. 11, *l*. 126)

(*b*) The following belong to the same type, but they evidence internal *sandhi* changes :

īṯṯ- (PN, 337)
agaṯṯ- (PN, 26)
uruṭṭ-

(*c*) The finals of the following transitival bases show *-kk-*, *-ṭṭ-*, *-ṯṯ-* which are usually described as being due to " gemination, " but which may primarily have been due to prehistoric internal *sandhi* changes arising from the meeting of voiceless *t* with *-g*, *-ṅg-*, *-ṟ* and *-ḍ* or their prehistoric representatives :

pōkkum (PM, 60)
ōṭṭi (PN, 66)
cūṭṭi (PN, 95)
ēṯṯuga (PN, 172)
ākk-u-ga (PN, 172)
ñīkk-i (PN, 5)

The past stems of bases belonging to 2 (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) show *i*.

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[18] The illustrations given here are from Śaṅgam texts. Bases like *paḍ.-u-tt-* (cf. Cilappadigāram, 13, l. 128), *irutt-* and *uyartt-*, so common to-day, are not met with in the earliest stages.

3. The bases *ńiṟ-*, *ńiṟ-u-kk-*, derived from *ńil-* owe their *ṟ* (< *ḏ*) possibly to an old *sandhi* change:

ńiṟīi (PP, 20 ; PN, 165)
ńiṟuttāṉ (KT, 55)
ńiṟ-u-kk-u-v-eṉ- (KT, 58)

4. A number of conjunctive past participles, and *rarely* finites and other verb-forms, occur in the Śaṅgam texts with transitivo-causatival meanings :—

koḷīi (a conj. past participle ; PN, 55) beside *Koḷuva* (an infinitfve ; Parip. 5)
irīi (PN, 50)
paḍīi (PN, 16)
uṟīi (Aiṅg., 246) beside *uṟuvi* (NT, 130)
eḻīi (Parip., 14)
aṟīiyiṉēṉ (a finite tense-form ; KT, 140)
urīiyiṉāṉ (a participial noun ; KT, 42)
paḍiyiṉai (a finite tense ; PN, 15)
aṟīiya (a purpose-participle ; KT, 84)

By the side of these forms with transitivo-causatival meanings, there also exist structurally similar forms with the signification of past participles of non-causatival verbs :—

irīi (= *iruńdu* ; Aing., 388)
eḻīi (KT, 136)
vaḻi paḍīi (KT, 9)
orīi (PN, 29) beside *orūuba* (a finite plural ; PP, 33) and *oruvi* (a past participle ; Ńāl. 33 and 36).

It is quite possible that the non-causatival past participles were originally formed with the help of the mere reinforcer *ī* 'to give,' and that on the other hand in the causatival formations the *ī* was a causative-denoter. This matter, however, requires to be investigated further. Again, there are bases with *-uv-* which are comparatively few in Śaṅgam speech, as, *e.g.*, in *koḷ-uv-a* (Parip., 5) *koḷuvuveṉ* (KT, 144), *taḻuvi* (PaP, 9, 96 ; beside *taḻīi* in PaP, 6, 301), *uṟuvi* (NT, 130), *oruvuga* (K, 800), but which become frequent in the language of the Āḻvārs and the Śaivites. These may possibly have been isolated originally from early Śaṅgam forms like those with

-*ī* referred to above. It is possible that a vowel -*u*- (a "supporting" vowel or "enunciative") may have arisen between the final of the radical and the *ī*, whereby a back glide *v* cropped up, and that (from such formations) bases like *koḷuv*-, *taḻuv*-, *uṟuv*- may have been "popularly" isolated.

Cf. the early Śaṅgam *kuṟii* with the later *kuruvi*.

5. Bases[19] with -*vi*-(*kk*)-, -*bi*-(*kk*)-, -*ppi*- (*kk*)- (the -*kk*- being an affix appearing in some verbal forms, as in B 2 or C 1 above) and with past stems having -*tt*-, are somewhat rare in the earlier Śaṅgam texts. The following are illustrations that I have been able to collect from Śaṅgam texts :—

kēṭpikkum (TC, 276)	from *kēṭ*-(*k*)-
porppittiladu (PN, 286)	,, *pōr*-(*kk*)-
maṟappittāy (KT, 50)	,, *mara*-(*kk*)-
iṉaivittal (KT, 147)	,, from *iṉai*-
paḍarvittavaḷ (KT, 141)	,, *paḍar*-
kaḷippikkum (KT, 72)	,, *kaḷi*-(*kk*)-
Koṭpittāṉ (participial noun ; KT, 145)	,, *koṭ*-(*k*)-
tāḻppikkum (Parip., 5, *l*. 75)	,, *tāḻ*-(*kk*)-
uṇarppittal (Parip., 18, *l*. 44)	,, *uṇar*-(*kk*)-
piṟappittōr (*ib*., 3, *l*. 73)	,, *piṟa*-(*kk*)-
puṇarvittal (*ib*., 20, *l*. 110)	,, *puṇar*-
ēṟpikkum (Parip., 18, *l*. 61)	,, *ēṟ*-(*k*)-
cērvittal (*ib*., 12)	,, *cēr*-
uḷappikkum (K, 938)	,, *uḷa*-(*kk*)-
ñayappittōr (K, 1190)	,, *ñaya*-(*kk*)-
aṟivippa (K,)	,, *aṟi*-

Such forms become most numerous in the language of the bhaktas.

-*kk*- in these bases is an affix, as in B 2 and C 1 above.

vi, *bi*, *ppi* are the so-called causative-denoters ; and, among these, if *bi* (*b* arising from the assimilative influence of a nasal preceding) and *ppi* (which owes its *pp* perhaps to a

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[19] These bases are derived from (i) intransitives, (ii) primary transitives, (iii) derivative transitives showing the affix -*kk* in some of the verb-forms, and (iv) derivative transitives with the affix -*tt*-.

prehistoric *-kk-* + *v* > *pp*) are regarded as secondary, *vi* emerges as the primary causative-denoter.

Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar*, p. 461) suggests that *-v-* forms part of original abstract nouns "which were converted into causatives by the addition to them of the causal particle" which he considers (p. 462) to be *i* < *ī* 'to give'. I would, however, put forward the suggestion that *-v-* here may have been originally a glide cropping up between a simple base like *paḍ-u-* (with *-u-* incorporated, as a "supporting" vowel or "enunciative") and the causative-forming affix *i* < *ī*. Forms like *paḍ-u-v-i* so formed may have been reinforced with the affix *-kk-*.[20]

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[20] Śaṅgam Tamil shows the bases *kal̤ipp-* (cf. *kal̤ippi*, PN, 152; PaP, 4, 279), *kiḍapp-* (*kiḍappi*, PN, 286), *parapp-* (cf. *parappi*, PN, 16).—These bases with *-pp-* have *i* for their past stems. Perhaps some of them like *kiḍapp-* and *parapp-* mark a transitional stage in the evolution of forms like *kiḍoppi* (*kk*)-. Causative verbal bases with *-p-* occur in Telugu and in Kann. also.

POLIGARS OF MYSORE AND THEIR CIVILISATION : A STUDY

By P. B. Ramachandra Rao

(*Continued from Vol. XXIX, No. 3, page 325*)

Tarikere

The Poligars of Tarikere obtained power in 1545 when Hanumappa Naik distinguished himself greatly as a Military Commander in the army of Vijayanagara against the Muhammadan sovereigns of the Deccan and received the grant of an estate at Sante Bednore in Mysore to retain troops. He also conquered a tract of country of which Shimoga was the centre yielding an annual revenue of nine lacs of *Hoons* amounting to about thirty lacs of rupees. Thus the Poligars ruled independently of Vijayanagara for over a century and then the Poligar kingdom dwindled so that by the year 1733 two taluks of Tarikere and Yektee alone remained, yielding a revenue of one lac of rupees. Tribute of 1,500 pagodas was levied by the Muhammadan General, Cheen Kulla Khan and another tribute of 700 pagodas by the Marathas on these Poligars. Hyder incorporated both the tributes in 1763, increasing the amount to 5,000 pagodas. This gradual increase gave an income of 1782 *Hoons*. Tippu while he confirmed it in 1783 granted a stipend of 1,080 pagodas annually to the Poligar of Tarikere.

Tippu also employed the Chief of the family, Serjah Hanumappa Naik, in several dangerous and delicate enterprises which he conducted with credit. When Hanumappa Naik died at Coimbatore in 1797, the same salary and command was continued to Krishnappa Naik, his second son. The several enterprises to which the family was exposed created a suspicion in the minds of the Poligars that Tippu was only keeping them under surveillance and that by these enterprises their stock had been greatly reduced.

Dhondojee Wag, the Maratha Chief, was at that time trying to establish himself in the western districts of Mysore. The Poligars and the people who had no love for the Muhammadans united under the Maratha Chief. Krishnappa Naik was taken prisoner with his followers and family by Purnia and removed to Seringapatam. For three years the family was confined there and in 1802 on the earnest solicitations of the captives they were released and a pension calculated on the daily expenses of the prison diet, which was about thirty pagodas, was granted but this was subsequently increased to ninety pagodas.

When Krishnappa Naik was seized and taken captive, other branches of the House fled to places of safety and the inhabitants of each village agreed to subscribe one *Kooroo* (nine seers) of ragi annually for their subsistence. On the release of Krishnappa Naik the refugees came out, joined his ranks and collected themselves at Kuldroog where they established a colony.

The three chiefs, Surjappa Naik, Nanjappa Naik and Hanumappa Naik were cultivating their lands and paying annual tribute to Government. When the family increased, the supply of grains became quite insufficient and the females were making up the deficiency by spinning cotton yarn and doing household work. In the turbulent days of 1831, the people came to Tarikere and represented to the Poligars that they were oppressed by the public officers of the State and that they had resolved to revolt. Surjappa Naik, Nanjappa Naik and Hanumappa Naik reflected how severely they themselves had suffered for want of subsistence, resolved to unite with the people and make an effort to recover their ancestral estates. When they consulted Rangappa Naik who refused to join them, the three decided to carry on the struggle by themselves.

In 1831 the Rāja's troops were repulsed from Kamondroog but when the place fell into the hands of Government, the Poligars including Rangappa Naik fled. On 28th October 1831 notwithstanding the Proclamation of the

Commission the Poligars began to plunder the country. When the second Proclamation in February was made, the Poligars sent a deputation to the villages of their former dependencies claiming some regular provision for themselves and the Government were obliged to take measures to exterminate the Poligars. The acts and behaviour of the Poligars disturbed the peace, of the country and the Commission had to take drastic action to restore tranquillity and establish the authority of the Government.

The evil effects that were produced on account of the residence of Poligars in the hills were that gangs of robbers unconnected with them were going forth and levying money or forcibly seizing the property of the people in their name. The Poligars though they lived in peace and promised to be quiet, disturbance nevertheless occurred here and there. There was reason to believe that the Poligar of Nagar was actually set up by an influential party among the public servants for the purpose of creating an insurrection. The Tarikere Poligars were likewise supported by the people of that province. The English thought of proclaiming on amnesty to these chieftains. Under the orders of the Board of Directors, Colonel Briggs issued a Proclamation which put an end to all disturbance at Nagar, as any person molesting the inhabitants was liable to be punished with the utmost severity of the law. The Poligars of Tarikere and others submitted.

As the Poligars in general never responded to the Proclamation, the English ascertained the source of their supplies and decided to close it up by the military force, thus cutting off the supplies. While the English decided to adopt severe measures, Nanjappa Naik, the eldest member of the family, came alone to the Senior Commissioner appealing for conciliatory measures. When Colonel Briggs was at Shimoga, the news of the approach of Nanjappa Naik was heard and it was reported that the Naik was ashamed to meet the Colonel on foot as his horse was carried away by Fouzdar Annappa. Thereupon Colonel Briggs immediately sent a horse to the Naik and on his arrival presented the horse

to the Naik himself. Later on Nanjappa Naik produced Hanumappa Naik and also promised to bring Surjappa Naik in the course of one month. Beyond a guarantee of security for their life, liberty and honour, no other concession was given by the English. Though at one time there was a possibility of an insurrection by the combined forces of the Poligars of Tarikere and Nagar, Nanjappa Naik declared that he would seize and deliver up to Government any person plundering in his name. In fact, Nanjappa Naik marched against Thimma Naik who in his name had plundered in the Chitaldroog District.

When Surjappa Naik finally came to Shimoga where the Senior Commissioner was, the unexpected death of Nanjappa Naik the next day delayed the matters of subjugation. A week afterwards, Surjappa Naik visited the Senior Commissioner who told him that he would place the Naik and his family on the same footing as before the rebellion. The Poligar affirmed that he had come to place his life, his honour and his property in the hands of the Commissioner. The Commissioner then guaranteed forgiveness and promised to respect his honour and his family and property. A sum of thirty pagodas monthly was fixed as pension to the Naik. The followers of the Naik were also duly honoured by the Commissioner, a few of them being employed in the Police. Surjappa Naik subsequently found a favourable opportunity and revolted again but in 1834 he was seized and hanged.

During the period Budi Basavappa Naik, the Poligar of Nagar, a most formidable chieftain, surrendered. It is said that he was not the real Chief of Nagar but that he was merely a pretender elevated to the *Gadi* of Nagar by the local authorities still remains the origin of Budi Basavappa Naik obscure. The English took necessary steps to bring Budi Basavappa Naik under the British sway.

Gummanāyakana Pāḷya

The history of the Pālayapat of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya shows the existence of feudal relationships in India in early

times prior to the Empire of Vijayanagara. Gummanāyakana Pāḷya comprised the whole of the Bagepalli Taluk of the Mysore State, portions of the Hindupur and Kandukur Taluks of the neighbouring British territory in the Madras Presidency. In the year 1243 two brothers of a royal family, Narasimha Naik and Khadripathi Naik left their place of Doddapāḷya in the present district of Cuddappah with slender resources and a few followers, in search of land for themselves, came to the Sidlaghatta Taluk in the present Kolar District of the Mysore State and settled at a place called Yagavakote. There they gradually established their overlordship and in course of time they extended their sway, acquired lands and built temples and lakes and donated great wealth and lands to the poor and the deserving. After some time the younger brother Khadripathi Naik, ambitious of power, desired to establish his own principality and become overlord of an independent territory. He journeyed a few miles onwards and came to dense forests and mountain ranges and scattered villages but did not obtain any comfort in life for a while. Ultimately he settled himself at a place between the Pātapāḷya village and Bhiravana Betta with his camp followers. By his valorous deeds and by his killing of wild animals in the forests and protecting the inhabitants and their cattle from these jungle beasts, he endeared himself to the people of the locality. His labour in the cause of his people attracted the attention of two rich Zamindars of the village, Gumma Reddy and Lakka Reddy, who also began to respect the heroism of the Naik decided to meet him with all honours and respect, inviting him to go over to their village Pātapāḷya. Khadripathi Naik was mightily pleased with this expression of regard shown to him and he agreed to go over to Pātapāḷya as desired.

According to the fable recorded in the chronicle, on the night in question on which the brothers met the Naik, Gumma Reddy had a dream in which he was beaten with a cane on his back but was surprised to see Khadripathi Naik himself appearing as some divinity and blessing him. On

waking up from the dream, Gumma Reddy realised that his dream must be true as there was a mark of the cane on his back, woke his brother, Lakka Reddy, narrated the dream to him and told him that Khadripathi Naik was necessarily a God incarnate and that they should obey his command. So the next day the brothers went to Khadripathi Naik, retold the events of the night, narrated their own life-history and requested him to take charge of all the wealth they possessed since they had no male children and had only a daughter and prayed that he may do such acts as would establish their names on earth. The Naik was very much pleased at their goodness and thought that God was on the way of his establishing an empire. After some time, Khadripathi Naik himself became the head of the village and Gumma Reddy and Lakka Reddy transferred everything they had to the Naik. Khadripathi Naik constructed huge lakes and renovated ancient crumbling temples and established many villages for which he became the Ruler and the King.

While one day he was hunting in the forests on the hill named Buramkonda, he observed a sudden fire ablaze and saw out of the flames emerge the Śakti of Śiva who told him that at that spot there were two pots full of gold which he could take and use for the construction of a temple for the worship of the Gods and that by doing so he would rise high in name and fame. Accordingly, Khadripathi Naik built a temple and rendered facilities for worship and established a new village there, cut down all forests, converting forest lands into agricultural ones, which increased the revenue of the principality. He named the village as Devarājapalli, built a magnificent palace and began to rule over an extensive area. He received people from famine-stricken lands and protected them. New villages, Bālareddypalli, Penamale, Saddupalli Rayimakalapalli, Makireddipalli and Saravalapalli sprang up during his regime. He died in the year 1272 and before his death he advised his son, Chinnama Naik, to show reverence to the two Reddy brothers under whose auspices and blessings he was able to establish a principality, and begged the Reddy

brothers and all his subjects to respect his son too in the same way as they had done it to him.

Chinnama Naik (1272-1296)

This Poligar was solely responsible for the establishment of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya principality at the foot of the hill, so named in honour of Gumma Reddy. To his capital he invited many agriculturists, merchants, sculptors and other artists. He re-established stables for the horses and elephants, a treasury, stores, offices, musicians, bandsmen and many others. The Poligar created the appointments of *patels*, *totis* and *talaris* of the villages, payment being made in kind or coin. From the extended territories as well, he realised a sum of 12,000 pagodas. A cowherd of this Naik noticed that a particular cow was not yielding even a drop of milk though she was fully fed. Investigation disclosed that in the mid-jungle near a spring of water, an unknown person came and drank all the milk from the cow's udder. Chinnama Naik anxious to know what this meant followed the cow and meeting this unknown person, offered his *praṇāmams* to him. The yogi, for he was indeed one, informed the Naik that in the cave there were two ṛṣis doing penance and that he might have a *darśan* of them after a few days when they came out of their penance. Accordingly when the appointed day came, the Naik had a *darśan* of the two sages. They offered him a handful of powder and told him that by addition of one pinch of the powder to a big quantity of copper he could convert the entire copper into gold with which he could make his subjects and himself happy. But when he had requested them for *upadeś* for release from the corporal life they told him that the time was not ripe but that after a time they would again visit him for the accomplishment of his desire. Thereupon Chinnama Naik cleared the entire place of the dense jungle and was performing *pūja* (prayers) at the spot where he first saw the sages and abided the time of their reappearance. With the power of alchemy the Naik amassed immense wealth, created two beautiful

idols of the sages and offered daily worship to them in his own palace.

When the two brothers, Gumma Reddy and Lakka Reddy, died, Chinnama Naik made every offering to the departed souls. He established a fort on the hill and named it Kalyan Droog and built a temple in the name of the goddess and named the spring of water as *Karṇikala doṇe.*

In his desire for extension of his principality the Poligar laid siege to the territory of a neighbouring Poligar, Yaramaji Pemma Naik whose rule was bad and who was also causing trouble to the subjects of Chinnama Naik. In the fight between the two chiefs Chinnama Naik was successful. He conquered Gutta Pāḷya, Maddepalli and the adjoining territory and annexed them to his principality, bringing in 2,000 additional pagodas of revenue.

The rule of Chinnama Naik was unique. He established various regulations and rules and passed orders that people of one class should not enter into the affairs of another class, that each class should follow its trade and calling, that anyone who did not conform to this would be taken to task and that all important or complicated cases should be referred to him for decision. He was ruling according to caste prin-ples and ruled about eighteen classes of subjects. He assumed the title, Sri Mahānāyaka Acārya, which title was adopted by the Poligars of Chitaldroog. There was a religious head for the Palace. Khādri Tirumala was the *Guru* and Chandragiri Mallikārjunaswāmi of Mallakonda the family *Guru.* In the year 1205 a son was born to him and he was named Gumma Naik and in 1218 he performed the coronation of the prince. After a rule for twenty-four years Chinnama Naik died and was succeeded by his son Gumma Naik.

Chinnama Naik was pious and God-fearing. He permitted freedom of expression, encouraged the artists, sculptors and others, constructed big tanks for the supply of water, built temples for worship and laboured in diverse ways for the advancement of his subjects. He had constructed a large tank in the name of his mother, naming it as

Doddammanakere and alongside the lake established hamlets, Tholapalli, Agatamadike, Sugnanapalli, Kolavarapalli.

Gumma Naik (1296–1314)

In the days of Gumma Naik we hear of foreign invasions. The Hindu ruler of Ānegondi who was anxious for the expansion of his empire, sent his minister Tirumala Rāya with an army of 20,000. Tirumala Rāya invaded and conquered small principalities of the Poligars surrounding Ānegondi and finally turned his eyes on Gummanāyakana Pāḷya demanding payment of tribute to his ruler. Gumma Naik then entreated the Commander and told him that the pāḷayapat was only established just then, that the whole place was previously a wild jungle and mountainous tract, that the City was constructed with aid of artists and sculptors brought from outside, that the income from the pāḷayapat was low on account of its infancy and that he would pay the tribute after a period of five years when the revenue would be more. Tirumala Rāya agreed and entered into an agreement on the said lines with the Poligar Gumma Naik. Still Gumma Naik following the noble traditions of the family, paid 25,000 pagodas and bore the expense of the retinue of the Commander for the days they camped. Besides Gumma Naik agreed to maintain 200 men ready for the defence of Ānegondi.

Gumma Naik created the appointment of Chief Minister and appointed Venkatarāmappa to that place and many others as other ministers for various duties. He gave them *Jahagirs* beside pay. In this reign a disciple of Sri Śankarāchārya, Pushpagiri Swāmi, visited the Pāḷya and the Poligar made him homage. After a record rule Gumma Naik passed away and his son, Lakka Naik, ascended the throne in 1314.

Lakka Naik (1314–1346)

Lakka Naik improved the Pāḷya and increased the revenue by augmenting the number of villages, tanks and other water-resources for the improvement of agriculture, built temples, caravanseraies and small forts for village safety. He imported experienced ryots for agriculture and looked

after the welfare of his subjects. Vadagere, Polanaikanapalli, Mittimirre, Thimmsandra and Yallammapalli are the villages that he had founded. With the advancement of the Pāḷayapat the rulers of Vijayanagara demanded payment of the tribute already promised by Gumma Naik. Lakka Naik loyally agreed to pay 5,000 pagodas annually. After him came his eldest son Krishnappa Naik, who ruled the Pāḷayapat from 1346–1363. He was succeeded by Kadarappa Naik.

Kadarappa Naik (1363–1388).

He was a subordinate to the Vijayanagara Empire and foreign policy became a prominent feature in the days of Kadarappa Naik. It was one of the aims of the Vijayanagar rulers to subdue all Poligars and bring them under their control. Though many of them yielded, still a few of the Andhra District Poligars proved refractory, refusing to pay the tribute and preparing themselves for war. The ruler then sent Sujana Singh with a large army to subdue those Poligars and annex their territories. Sujana Singh could not bring those turbulent Chiefs under control; and the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya was sent for his immediate help. Kadarappa Naik at once hastened to Sujana Singh with a large army and with his two efficient brothers. Sujana Singh fully realised that the army of Vijayanagar which was acquainted with warfare on the plains could not be useful in mountainous tracts. Though the siege lasted for more than a month the refractory Poligars could not be subdued. At last Kadarappa Naik determined to fight once more. He sent his two brothers with a very large army and war materials and himself advancing with a large army laid siege to the strongholds. The refractory Poligars hurled stones and boulders, threw venomous creatures like snakes, scorpions and others over the armies of Kadarappa Naik from vantage grounds. As a result of this guerilla warfare many of the followers of Kadarappa Naik died including his two brothers. As soon as he heard of the death of his brothers, Kadarappa Naik with a strong army climbed the fortress like a ferocious beast and sieged

the Poligar Krishnappa Naik, cut off his head and the limbs of seven other Poligars. The rest of the Poligars out of fear fled from their places and while running for life on the plains the army of Sujana Singh lay senseless and Kadarappa Naik with his few men and horses hastened to Sujana Singh and helped him. Afterwards, Kadarappa Naik invaded the forts of Amagonda Pāḷya, Kokkantarapāḷya and seven other pāḷayapats and subdued the people and Chiefs and brought with him a large sum of money and handed it over to Sujana Singh. The supremacy of Vijayanagar was established in all those places. The Poligar of Amagonda who had fled out of fear then returned to Kadarappa Naik and begged him for mercy and restoration. On payment of a tribute and assurance that he would be subordinate to the house of Vijayanagar the Poligar of Amagonda was restored to his own principality.

Sujana Sigh took with him Kadarappa Naik to Vijayanagar and there he was received with honours by the ruler of Vijayanagar. Kadarappa Naik was treated well and honoured for his devotion and loyalty. In recognition of his signal services was made the ruler over a big principality with the title of Chief of Naiks and on his return was awarded the gifts of the Durbar like elephants, royal umbrella, horses, palanquin, sword, etc.

Occasion arose for subjugation of the Poligar Rāmarāja of Suyyalur Pāḷayapat to Gummanāyakana Pāḷya. The Poligar was fully subdued and Kadarappa Naik allowing a few villages to Rāmarāja, annexed the rest of the territory which yielded a revenue of 5,000 pagodas. Thus the Gummanāyakana Pāḷya rose into prominence and ascendancy.

Singappa Naik (1388–1457)

This Chief seems to have ruled for 69 years but information is wanting about life and activity in this long reign.

Dodda Vasanta Naik (1457–1467)

Dodda Vasanta Naik succeeded to the throne of Singappa Naik. The ruler of Kalburgi with a large army invaded the

territories of Vijayanagar and gradually began to appropriate the tribute which he had to pay for himself. He committed ravages in all places and began to ill-treat the people. On the receipt of orders from the ruler, Prouda Devarāya of Vijayanagar, Dodda Vasanta Naik rallied round the banner of the Empire for ready support. At that time Singappa Naik of Kokkanta Pāḷya which had been annexed to Vijayanagar in the previous disturbances came to Dodda Vasanta Naik and prayed for restoration under an apology and the oath of allegiance to Vijayanagar and Dodda Vasanta Naik promised to help him in the restoration. Singappa Naik brought with him 1,000 men for war, Pemmasāni Thimma Naik of Gaṇḍikoṭa contributed 8,000 men and Dodda Vasanta Naik contributed 9,000 men for the great war against Kulburgi. The army of Vijayanagar was 50,000 in number. The whole army invaded Kulburgi but the first attempt proved vain. Then Prouda Devarāya consulted Dodda Vasanta Naik and Pemmasāni Thimma Naik and the other Naiks agreed to invade by themselves and subdue Kulburgi. The third day Dodda Vasanta Naik offered prayers to the Goddess and made ready for the fight. The fortress of Kulburgi was bombarded and the entire army of Kulburgi was shattered and killed. Then the Chief of Kulburgi came forward single-handed for single combat with Dodda Vasanta Naik and demanded a duel. In the duel that ensued the Chief fell a prey to the Poligar. The Poligar established the supremacy of Vijayanagar and Prouda Devarāya visited the place and established his administration and took all steps for peace. For this act of loyalty and valour on the part of the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya, the ruler of Vijayanagar honoured the Poligar in the highest way possible. In this happy state of affairs, Dodda Vasanta Naik spoke to Devarāya of Singappa Naik, having come to tender an apology and render homage, praying for restoration. On the recommendation of Dodda Vasanta Naik, Singappa Naik was restored to his old principality. Finally, Dodda Vasanta Naik requested for the annexation of certain tracts of land surrounding Gummanāyakana Pāḷya

for the Pāḷya, Gadidamkonda, which was haunted with wild animals and full of scrub jungle so that he could improve the place, protect the people from fear of wild animals, establish villages and improve the resources of the country. This was easily granted by the ruler and thus the principality was widened in size and yield. After a remarkable rule, Dodda Vasanta Naik died and was succeeded by Dodda Kadarappa Naik in 1460.

Dodda Kadarappa Naik (1460–1473)

Immadi Narasimha Naik (1473–1482)

Then followed the reigns of Dodda Kadarappa Naik and Narasimha Naik II (Immadi).

Kadarappa Naik II (Immadi) (1482–1508)

Poligar Rangarāja of Idagur and Chinnaganapalli, a subordinate feudal chief to Vijayanagar, did not pay the tribute for two years and showed signs of revolt. The ruler of Vijayanagar, Veeranarasarāja, then called upon the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya, Kadarappa Naik, to invade the territory of Rangarāja and annex it. Kadarappa Naik invaded the territory of Rangarāja and took him prisoner and drew up an agreement by which he had to pay the arrears of 24,000 pagodas, be liable in future to pay 12,000 pagodas per annum regularly and for the default of payments already made, pay 7,000 pagodas as penalty. Kadarappa Naik then placed these terms of the covenant and requested the Sovereign to restore the Poligar Rangarāja to his pāḷayapat and the Sovereign was pleased to do so.

Navarātra, nine glorious nights, now a special feature of the Mysore Durbar, was a festivity of ancient tradition. The ruler of Vijayanagar requested Kadarappa Naik to remain at Vijayanagar for the *Navarātra* and Kadarappa Naik agreed and remained. The Durbar of the Ruler was attended by other rulers and chiefs of other territories, ministers, commandants, poligars, poets, philosophers, *mahā vidwans* dancers, *Bhatarajaru* (sandows) and host of others. On one *navarātra* day the following incident happened. One *Bhataraju*

got up from his seat, drew out his sword from his waist and openly demanded in a melodious voice and in verse form, whether in that honourable assembly there was any person who could be said a *veera* and who could lay bare his breast to couch his sword therein. None dared to speak and the whole court was silent. Kadarappa Naik suddenly rose from his seat and challenged the *Bhataraju* and came forward and opened his breast bare to the thrust of the sword. The *Bhataraju* immediately flashed the sword over the uncovered breast of the Poligar. The whole Durbar was stunned and gazed at the profuse flow of blood from the breast of the Poligar. Everyone grew ferocious but none could speak. To the surprise of all when the blood was examined it was found that it was mere red water that had been put into the hollow of the sword specially manufactured for a test. Everybody began to praise Kadarappa Naik for his valour. At once the *Bhataraju* offered his respects to the ruler and all present and began to repeat verses in praise of the ruler. The *Bhatarajus* were the elite and educated classes of the society and they were men great in Telugu learning. One of them by name Bhattamūrthi had written two books in Telugu, known as *Vasu Caritramu* and *Manu Caritramu*. Kadarappa Naik was so much pleased with the wit and capacity of that *Bhataraju* and rewarded him with a pearl necklace and a pair of shawls. The ruler who was witnessing these incidents praised Kadarappa Naik for all his bravery and valour.

Kadarappa Naik on previous occasions had requested the Ruler for grant of a few more villages for his Pāḷayapat and this request was complied with on the eve of the return of Kadarappa Naik from Vijayanagar to his place. Konda-komarla Hobli and adjoining villages and Dēvikunte were granted as a gift together with 5,000 pagodas, a pearl necklace, red umbrella and various other insignia. One *Bhataraju* who was fully learned by name Narasappa was also sent to his court.

Ballapūr, another pāḷayapat, was under a separate Poligar. The people of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya and Ballapūr

on the frontiers began to create quarrels as a result of which both the Chiefs had ever to remain on terms of enmity. When the Poligar of Ballapūr saw the power and ascendency of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya he awaited the day to meet Kadarappa Naik and when he met him, he solicited his friendship and alliance. Both the Naiks agreed to punish the mischief-mongers •and other unbecoming persons severely. The Poligar of Ballapūr then desired Kadarappa Naik to grant him the terirtory of Dēvikunte for himself and Kadarappa Naik willingly gave it together with various honours. Kadarappa Naik in return received distinct honours from the Poligar of Ballapūr for this act of friendship. Kadarappa Naik after a significant rule died and was succeeded by his son

Aggi Thimma Naik (1508–1514)

During this period, incessant warfare between Vijayanagar and Bhāmani Sultans and Shahi Sultans for supremacy in the Deccan resulted in the enhancement of the levy of tribute from all subordinate Chiefs and Poligars. Gummanāyakana Pāḷya was also ordered to pay 10,000 pagodas annually for the upkeep of the army of Vijayanagar. Krishnappa Naik, brother of the Poligar, caused great havoc to the people and Thimma Naik sentenced him to death. Likewise when his own son by the first wife was poisoned by the son of his second wife, Thimma Naik ordered the second son to be hanged. The first son, however, who had escaped death on account of timely help pleaded for the life of the younger brother which was mercifully granted.

Then followed in quick succession short reigns of Hire Vasanta Naik—1514 to 1517, Singappa Naik II (Immadi)—1517 to 1521, Narasimha Naik III (Mummadi)—1521 to 1524, and then Vasanta Naik II (Immadi)—1524 to 1548.

Veeradāsappa Naik (1548–1584)

It was during this period that the great battle of Tālikota or Rakkas Tadagi took place between the armies of Vijayanagar and the combined armies of Kulburgi, Ahmednagar,

Golconda and Bijapur. When Vijayanagar thus fell a prey to the invading armies, all the subordinate rulers and chiefs revolted and tried to become independent. The Poligars took this opportune moment and separated themselves : but the Poligar of Gummanāyakana Pāḷya, true to his traditional loyalty, remained firm under the banner of the fallen House of Vijayanagar.

Vasanta Naik III (Mummadi) (1584–1614)

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Vijayanagar Empire, Dilawar Khan, one of the Viceroys of the Mogul Emperors, invaded the country when Rangaṛāya requested Vasanta Naik to go to Vijayanagar. Accordingly Vasanta Naik repaired to Vijayanagar with a large army. Rangarāja with an army of 10,000, started together with the men of Vasanta Naik and marched against Dilawar Khan who was camping with his army on the bank of the river. Both the armies met and Dilwar Khan ran away in fear. The resources were all seized as spoils by the Vijayanagar army. On his return to his Pāḷayapat Vasanta Naik relieved the people who were troubled by Dilawar Khan of their sufferings and finally caught Dilawar Khan himself as prisoner and presented him before the ruler. Dilawar Khan was put to death.

When Srī Rangarāja of Vijayanagar took up the question of the renovation and construction of the temple of Srī Ranganātha at Srīrangam, Vasanta Naik very greatly helped in this sacred enterprise with money, artists and workmen. He constructed various towers for the temple, offered jewels for the idols, improved the one-thousand-pillared hall. Srī Rangarāja being greatly pleased at the Poligar's goodwill and faith towards him, reduced the tribute from 10,000 pagodas to 6,000 pagodas. After a brilliant rule Vasanta Naik died and he was succeeded by his son, Narasimha Naik.

Narasimha Naik (Nālmadi) (1614–1644)

This reign furnishes a detailed account of the efficient form of administration and various departments, their heads and

subordinates, their powers and duties, etc., such as the Palace Department, the Police Department, the Revenue Department, the Customs Department and the Treasury Department. Over all these was the Administrative Department (Secretariat) which was the Chief Secretariat. Furthermore, Narasimha Naik established a Judicial Department to award punishment, a Survey Department for the Revenue Survey and the Military Department for protection.

Even though the Vijayanagar Empire was on the decline, still this Poligar showed loyalty and faith and finding no need for his vast army which was maintained for the sake of Vijayanagar, disbanded a few of them and ordered the disbanded men to maintain arms and other weapons so that when there was a call they should be able to rally around his banner.

(*To be continued*)

A MILESTONE IN TAMIL LITERATURE

By Pandit Soma Sundara Desikar

'Inscriptions are generally a more trustworthy source than literature in India' is the dictum of a recent writer on History.[1] But literature, if properly studied, is sure to be of great value to the historian in giving a correct lead in many instances. *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram*, a treatise on Rhetoric in Tamil, is such a source but it has not been studied as it ought to have been. From the writings of a recent writer one is led to infer that *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* is later than *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi* and *Vīrasōḻiam* and the Kalinga war of Kulōttunga I is the first of its kind. I shall try to show in the following pages how these opinions are not borne out either by literature or by inscriptions.

The writer referred to above writes as under :—

> 'The *Daṇḍiyalamkāram* is the only work devoted entirely to the discussion of *Alamkāra* or *Aṇi* as it is called in Tamil. The name of the work is justified by closely following the model of Daṇḍi's *Kāvyādarśa*, being in fact, a more or less close rendering of it in Tamil. The name of the author and the details of his life and age have disappeared altogether. There is a verse of unknown age which states that the author was the son of Ambikāpati by name and it is sometimes held that our author was the grandson of Kamban.* One of the earliest references to the *Daṇḍiyalamkāram* is that by Adiyārkkunallār in his celebrated commentary on *Silappadikāram*. The work was also apparently called *Aṇiyiyal*, *Aṇiyalamkāram* and *Aṇiyadikāram*. It is composed in *sūtra* style, and like the *Kāvyādarśa*, it treats the nature of Poetry and Kāvya, and of Figures of Speech under two generic heads Arthālamkāra

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[1] Dr. C. Minakshi : *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 1.

* Kamban is the famous author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Tamil.

(*Porulaṇi*) and Śabdālamkāra (*Sollaṇi*). The author of *Prayōgavivēkam*, writing sometime in the eighteenth century[2] says that the author of *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* annotated the *sūtras* and illustrated them himself. This seems probable, and it is interesting to note that some of the illustrative stanzas are in praise of Anapāyachoḷa[3] '.

From the above extract one will not be able to know the exact date or period in which the *Tamil Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* was written, though it is found under the caption, *Literature under the Cōḷas*, except that it is anterior to the commentary on *Silappadikāram*. But the same author a few pages previous to this note writes in connection with *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi*—a war poem on Kulōttunga I—that 'it may be noted in passing, that the Kalinga war of Kulōttunga seems to have been the theme of several literary efforts; to judge from the stray verses on the subject preserved by the commentaries on the *Vīraśōḷiam* and the *Daṇḍiyalamkāram*, a good part of the results of these efforts has been lost irretrievably[4].' We have to conclude from the above extracts that *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* and *Vīraśōḷiam* are later works than *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi* and the former is surely later than *Vīraśōḷiyam*[5]. It seems to be his opinion that the verses found in *Vīraśōḷiam* and *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* refer to the particular conquest mentioned in *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi* and not to any other war. He has not assigned any reasons for the statement nor has he quoted any authority for the same. We know for certain that *Vīraśōḷiam* is a work of Vīrarājēndra's time—A.D. 1063–1070. This *Vīraśōḷiam* is a treatise on grammar in

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[2] Subramaṇya Dikṣitar, author of *Prayōgavivēkan*, lived in the seventeenth century and not in the eighteenth century as stated here, since he was an elder contemporary of Swāminādа Dēśikar, author of *Ilakkaṇakkottu*.

[3] *The Cōḷās*, ii, 546–47.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 521.

[5] The author of *The Cōḷas* places the three works noted above in the following order—*Yāpparungalam*, *Vīraśōḷiam and Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* (*The Cōḷās*, pp. 544, 545 and 546). While writing about *Kalingattu-p-paraṇi* in p. 522, he sticks to the same order and hence it is evident that his opinion is that *Daṇḍiyalamkāram* is later than *Vīraśōḷiam*.

Tamil after the model of Samskrit grammarians and equates many grammatical theories. It is divided into five main heads—Orthography (*Eḻuttu*), Etymology (*Śol*), Subjective and Objective (*Poruḷ*), Prosody (*Yāppu*), and Rhetoric (*Alamkāra*). The last division on Rhetoric is based on *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram*. The author of *Vīraśōḻiam* has stated that he is following the author Daṇḍi but he has not taken pains to say whether he is following Ācārya Daṇḍin of *Kāvyādarśa* or Tamil grammarian Daṇḍi. But a close study of the chapter on Rhetoric in *Vīraśōḻiam* and its commentary will convince any one that the author and the annotator have not only closely followed the Tamil *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* but also have largely borrowed many of the illustrations from that work. Now I shall prove the same by some specific quotations:

(i) In the opening verse of *Alamkārappaṭalam*, the author says that he is following Daṇḍi[6];

(ii) The author of *Vīraśōḻiam* in describing the thirty-[7] five *Alamkāras*, begins in the order of *Tanmai*, *Uvamai*- (stanza 10), and ends with *Orungiyal*, *Parimaṟṟu*, *Āsi*, *Virā* and *Bhāvika* and requests the reader to note that he is stating in the order given by Daṇḍi[8]. Daṇḍi in his *Alamkāram* describes the first *sūtra* in the *Poruḷaṇi* beginning with *Tanmai*, *Uvamai* and ends with *Samkīrnam* and *Bhāvika*—they being the thirty-five *Alamkāras*[9];

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[6] தரைமலி மானிடர் தம்மலங் காரங்கள் தண்டிசொன்ன
கரைமலி நூலின் படியே யுரைப்பன் கனங்குழையே. (அலங். 1)

[7] திரப்பியஞ் சாதி தொழில்குண மாங்-தன்மை சீருவமை (,, 13)

[8] ஆக்கு மொருங்கிய லேபரி மாற்றத்தோ டாசிவிராத்
தாக்கு மொழிப்பா விகமிவை யேழைந்துந் தண்டிசொன்ன
வாக்கு மலியலங் கார மெனவறி. (,, 13)

[9] தன்மை யுவமை யுருவகந் தீவகம்
பின்வரு நிலையே முன்ன விலக்கே
* * * * *
வாழ்த்தொடு சங்கீ ரணம்பா விகமிவை
யேற்ற செய்யுட் கணியே யைந்தே. (தண்டியலங்காரம், 27)

(iii) Taking an *Alamkāra* let us see how the three authors proceed. We will take *Viśēṣālamkāra*. Ācarya Daṇḍin says, 'When in the quality, genus, predicate, &c., an alteration or variation is shown, that makes for the pointing out of its speciality and is known as *Viśēṣa*'.[10]

It is found in *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* as follows: 'When a thing is extolled so as to make the want in quality, genus, predicate, etc., a speciality, its embellishment, then, is known as *Viśēṣa*'.[11]

The author of *Vīraśōḻiam*[12] says, '*Viśēṣa* is that which expresses its beauty in another sense or respect though quality, predicate, etc., is wanting'.

The illustrative stanzas to the above are found in the *Kāvyādarśa* as follows and they are numbered 324–329.

324. The weapon of Cupid is neither strong nor sharp; even so by him the three worlds are conquered. This is an example of *guṇa*.[13]

325. This is not daughter of a god nor is she born of the family of the *gandharvas*; even so she is able to cause destruction of the penance of even Brahma. This is an example of *jāti*.[14]

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[10] *Guṇa jāti kriyādīnām yat tu vaikalya darśanam |*
viṣēṣa darśanāyaiva sā viśēṣōhtiriśyate ||

The translations are according to Mr. V. Narayana Iyer's.

[11] குணந் தொழின் முதலிய குறைபடு தன்மையின்
மேம்பட வொருபொருள் விளம்புதல் விசேடம் (தண்டி, 78)

என் நிறுத்த முறையானே விசேட மென்னும் அலங்கார முணர்த்துதனுதலிற்று. குணமும் தொழிலும் சாதியும் பொருளும் உறுப்புமுதலாயின குறைபடுதல் காரணமாக ஒருபொருட்கு மேம்பாடு தோன்ற வுரைப்பது விசேட மென்னு மலங்காரமாம்.

[12] செல்லுஞ் சிறப்புத் தொழில்குண மங்கஞ் சிதைந்திடினு
நல்ல பயன்பட நாட்டல் . . . . (வீர. 31)

[13] *Na kaṭhoram na vā tīkṣaṇamāyudham puṣpadhanvanaḥ |*
tathāpi jitamēvasīdamunā bhuvanatrayam ||

[14] *Na dēvakanyakā vāpi gandharva kulasambhavā |*
tathapyēṣā tapōbhangam vidhātum vēdhasōpyalam ||

326. The brow is knit, the lip is not quivering, the eye is not reddened; and yet the army of the enemies have been vanquished. This is an example of *kriya* (predicate).[15]

327. Not war-chariots, nor elephants, nor horses, nor the serried ranks of foot-soldiers; it is only by the side glance of ladies' eyes that the three worlds are conquered. This is an example of alteration in *dravya* or object.[16]

328. The chariot has only one wheel. The driver is wanting in limbs and the horses are old; still the sun in his splendour traverses the region of the sky.

329. This is an example of *hētuviśēṣa*.[17]

Now *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* has the following:—

> The liberal Cenni's eyes reddened, Kalingam—whose archers are not adepts in archery—was reddened with the fury of fire; his (Cenni's) brow was not knit, yet the sceptre of the enemy was bent. This is *guṇaviśēṣa*.[18]

The elephants of the mighty lord of the Cauvery will not be careworn, will not spill its rut, but will dive deep into the waters; but the fetters in the ankles of the enemies who rose against him will not be removed. This is *kriya*.[19]

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15 *Na baddhabhrukuṭirnāpi sphuritō daśanaccadaḥ* |
na ca raktābhavad dṛṣtirjitañca dviṣatām balam ||

16 *Na rathā na ca mātaṅgā na hayā na ca pattayaḥ* |
Strīṇāmapānga dṛṣtaiva jīyatē jagatām trayam ||

17 *Ēkacakrō rathō yantā vihatō viṣamā hayāḥ* |
ākrāmatyēva tejasvī tathāpyarkō nabhastalam ||
eṣā hētuviśeṣōkti....

18 அவற்றுள் 1-வது குணக்குறை விசேடம் வருமாறு :
கோட்டந் திருப்புருவங் கொள்ளா வவர்செங்கோல்
கோட்டம் புரிந்த கொடைச்சென்னி—நாட்டம்
சிவந்தன வில்லைத் திருந்தார் கலிங்கம்
சிவந்தன செந்தீத் தெற.

19 தொழிற்குறை விசேடம் வ—று :
எங்கா முகில்பொழியா நாளும் புனறேங்கும்
பூங்கா விரிநாடன் போர்மதமா—நீங்கா
வளைபட்ட தாளணிகண் மாறெதிர்ந்த தெவ்வர்
தளைபட்ட தாட்டா மரை.

The shepherd who was looking after the cattle and who ate butter in stealth, took up the gauntlet and waged war; Indra and the gods were defeated and had to give up the *kalpataru* trees and other things. This is *jāti*.[20]

The maiden who had two *ollocks* of paddy from her brother at Dwāraka—a man well versed in the *Vedas*—came to Kāñci and supplied the whole world with food. This is object.[21]

Neither elephants nor chariots nor horses nor foot soldiers; he has no body; his bow is sugarcane and his arrows are flowers and yet he is able to win the three worlds. This is an example of want of principal elements.[22]

The annotator of *Vīraśōḻiam* has adopted the above *in toto* and remarks on the first stanza that 'though there is some defect in *guṇa* yet the action is extolled and thus it has become an example of *guṇaviśēṣa*.[23]

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[20] சாதிக்குறை விசேடம் வ-று :

மேய நிரைபுரந்து வெண்ணெய் தொடுவுண்ட
ஆயனார் மாறேற் றமர்புரிந்தார்—தூய
பெருந்தருவும் பின்னுங் கொடுத்துடைந்தார் விண்மேற்
புரந்தரனும் வானோரும் போல்.

[21] பொருட்குறை விசேடம் வ-று :

தொல்லை மறைதேர் துணைவன்பா லான்டுவரை
எல்லையிரு நாழி நெற்கொண்டோர்—மெல்லியலாள்
ஓங்குலகில் வாழு முயிரனைத்து மூட்டுமால்
ஏங்கொலிநீர்க் காஞ்சி யிடை.

[22] உறுப்புக்குறை விசேடம் வ-று :

யானை யிரதம் பரியா ளிவையில்லை
தானு மனங்கன் றனுக்கரும்பு—தேனார்
மலரைந்தினால் வென்றடிப் படுத்தான் மாரன்
உலகங்கண் மூன்று மொருங்கு.

[23] கோட்டந் . . . . தெற. இது குணத்திலே குறைவு கூறிக் காரியத்திலே மேம்பாடு தோன்றச் சொன்னமையால் குணக்குறை விசேடம்.

Other examples like the above may be cited and it is sufficient for my purpose if it is proved that the author of *Vīraśōḻiam* and his commentator have followed the *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* and not *Kāvyādarśa.* I have now shown that *Vīraśōḻiam* the date of which stands between A.D. 1063 and 1070 is later than *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram.* As A.D. 1063 is the upper limit for this work we have to find out the lower limit or the monarch in whose reign the work was composed.

There is a prefatory stanza to the work itself called *Siṟappuppāyiram* in Tamil.[24] It says that it was composed by a Daṇḍi, son of Ambikāpati, who was a master of dancing in the temple at Cidambaram. It further states that the work was presented at the court of the reigning monarch where it was approved. It is not stated who the monarch was. Even admitting that we cannot rely on this *Siṟappup-pāyiram* as Mr. Sastry thinks, yet we have other sources of evidence to denote the monarch who patronised this author.

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[24] வடதிசை யிருந்து தென்மலைக் கேகி
மதிதவழ் குடுமிப் பொதிய மால்வரை
இருந்தவன் றன்பா லருந்தமி ழுணர்ந்த
பன்னிரு புலவரின் முன்னவன் பகர்ந்த
தொல்காப் பியநெறி பல்காப் பியத்தும்
அணிபெறு மிலக்கண மரிதினிற் றெரிந்து
வடநூல் வழிமுறை மரபினின் வழாஅது
ஈரிரண் டெல்லையி னிகவா மும்மைப்
பாரத விலக்கணம் பண்புறத் தழீஇத்
திருந்திய மணிமுடிச் செம்பிய னவையத்
தரும்பொருள் யாப்பின் வகுத்தனன்
ஆடக மன்றத்து நாடக நவிற்றும்
வடநா லுணர்ந்த தமிழ்நூற் புலவன்
பூவிரி தண்பொழிற் காவிரி நாட்டு
வம்பவிழ் தெரிய லம்பி காபதி
மேவருந் தவத்தினிற் பயந்த
தாவருஞ் சீர்த்தித் தண்டியென் பவனே.

It is conceded that the *sūtras* and the illustrations in *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* were composed by the author himself. In the illustrations of the work we find many stanzas about the Kalinga war. Some of the stanzas bearing on the war in Kalinga are given below :

(i) The elephant herds that have been captured by Abhaya will rain their rut, will shed fire from their eyes and eclipse the moonlight by the whiteness of their tusks.

(ii) Cenni's eyes became red and the Kalinga country was set on fire ; His brow was not knit but the sceptre of the enemy became bent.

(iii) When the forces of Cenni marched into the country of Kalinga, the people there ran for their life and fell one over the other crying, "fire", "fire," "fire".[25]

Now who is this monarch that is reported to have waged such a ferocious war against the Kalingas ?

The *Praśasti* of Rājarāja the Great says that he conquered the Kalinga country.[26] But the actual conquest was made

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[25] i. கடாத்தான் மாரியுங் கண்ணூர் வெயிலு
நிறைவயிரக் கோட்ட னிலவுஞ்—சொரியுமால்
நீளார் தொடையபய னோரார் கலிங்கத்து
வாளாற் கவர்ந்த வளம்.

ii. கோட்டங் . . . . . .
. . . செந்தீத் தெற.

iii. ஒருவ ரொருவர்மேல் வீழ்ந்து வடநாட
ரருவ ரருவரென வஞ்சி—வெருவந்து
தீத்தீத்தீ யென்றயர்வர் சென்னி படைவீரர்
போர்க்கலிங்க மீதெழுந்த போது.

[26] * * * *
குடமலை நாடுங் கொல்லமுங் கலிங்கமு
மெண்டிசை புகழீழ மண்டலமும்
. . . திண்டிறல் வென்றித்
தண்டாற் கொண்ட . . . . ஸ்ரீராஜ
ராஜதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு. . . . .

by his son Rajēndracōḷadēva—the Gangaikonda. There are two inscriptions in the Mahēndra hill which run as follows :

श्री

जयति निज भुजाभ्यां निर्जितोर्वीपमौलि-
प्रणति गळित माल्यालङ्क्रुतास्थान भूमिः ।
विमलयति यदीयं धाम लोकं समस्तं
कलिमलिनितमुच्चैः भ्राजि राजेंद्रचोळः ॥
निद्ध्वस्तन्निजविक्रमेण विमलादित्यं कुलूतेश्वरं
सङ्गृह्याद्रिनिभान्कलिङ्गपतिना दत्ताकरो वारणान् ।
भित्वा दण्डपतिर्जगद्विजयिनो राजेंद्र चोळस्य सन्
यां प्राप्ते शिखरे व्यधत्त विजयस्तंभं महेन्द्राचले ॥

Jayati nija bhujābhyām nirjitōrvīpa mauḷi-
praṇati gaḷita mālyālamkṛatāsthāna bhūmiḥ |
Vimalayati yadīyam dhāma lōkam samastam
kalimalinitamuccaiḥ bhrāji rājēndrachōḷaḥ ||
Niddhvastannijavikramēṇa vimalādityam kulūtēśvaram
Sangṛhyādriṇibhān kalingapatinā da(ttā)karō vāraṇān |
Bhitvā daṇḍapatir jagad vijayinō rājēndrachōḷasya san
Dyā(m) prāptē śikharē vyadhatta vijayastambham mahēndrāchalē ||

A

1 னையும் எறி . . .	3 ண்டு ஸ்ரீ 3 மஹெந்திர
2 ஹெந்திர . . .	4 த்தில் ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நாட்

B

1 ஸ்ரீ ம (ா) ஹா	4 மாராயன் மஹே ந்‍ பாரீஷீ ரத்துகொ
2* நாயக ரஜேதெ] சோழ	5 ண்டான் வி[ரா]ங்கு[சமும்]
3 ப்பல்லவரையன் ராஜராஜ	6 வீட்டி வாரணமல்லன்

C

1 விமாலதித்தனை 2 யுங் கலங்கருத்தா [27]

This Tamil inscription has not been edited properly, perhaps owing to its mutilated nature and it found on three stones lying near the Kunti shrine on the Mahēndra hill.[28]

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[27] *South Indian Inscriptions*, V, Nos. 1351, 1352.

[28] V. Venkayya wrote as under :

Four inscriptions were found in or near the Gōkarṇathēśvara temple on the Mahēndragiri hill in 1896. Out of these two—one in

Piece A has to be read after B and C in the order B, C, A. It will then read thus :

1 ஸ்ரீம(ா)ஹா 2 நாயக ராஜேந்திர சோழ 3 ப்பல்ல
வரையன் ராஜ ராஜ மாராயன் 4 மஹேந்திர
புரீசுவரத்து (க்) கொ 5 ண்டான்வீ [ரா] ங்குச
[மும்] வீட்டி 6 வாரணமல்லன் (C. 1.) விமலா
தித்தனையுங் கலிங்க ருத்தா (A. 1) னையும்
எறி [ந்தும] 2 ஹேந்திர[முங்கொ] 3 ண்டு ஸ்ரீ மஹேந்
திர 4 த்தில் ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நாட்[டி]

From these inscriptions it is learnt that while Rajēndra was in his glory, the general Rājarāja Mahārāyan *alias*

Samskrit verse and the other in Tamil prose—refer to the victory gained by Rajēndra over the Kalinga kings. It was held at the time when these inscriptions were copied (1896) that Rajendracōḷa (having defeated his brother-in-law) Vimalāditya (A.D. 1015–1022) set up a pillar of victory (*Jayastambha*) on the Mahēndra mountain (*M.E.R.*, 1896). It was subsequently said that ' Vimalāditya who was overcome by the Cōḷa general was only a Kuḷūta chief, not an Eastern Cāḷūkya or Kalinga, as hitherto supposed. The theory that the Cōḷa king Rajēndracōḷa took the Eastern Cāḷukya Vimalāditya prisoner to the Cōḷa country is no longer tenable' (*A.S.I.*, 1911–12, pp. 171–72). Mr. Venkayya added in a foot-note to the above that 'the Kuḷūta Vimalāditya was probably called after the Eastern Cāḷukya king of the same name'. Though Rajēndra does not claim to have conquered Kalinga in his *Praśastis*, Rājarāja the Great claims to have conquered Kalinga after Kuḍamalai nāḍu and Quilon. On the other hand, we read in *The Cōḷās* as follows :—

> ' Two undated inscriptions from Mahēndragiri record in Samskrit and Tamil, an invasion of Rājēndracōḷa against a king of Kuḷūta, who had the name Vimalāditya. This chieftain probably was a recalcitrant feudatory of the Eastern Cālūkya. The inscriptions are recorded in the name of Rājēndra and mention the erection of a pillar of victory by him on the high peak of the Mahēndra mountain. But this expedition against Vimalāditya finds no place in Rājēndra's historical introduction. It took place in the reign of his father and accounts for Rājarāja's claim that he conquered Kalinga. He further adds in a foot-note that ' Kulūta is not mentioned in the detailed list of countries given in that connection.' (*The Cōḷās*, i, 219, 220).

Rajēndra Cōḷappallavarāyan waged war against a Kuḷūtēśvara Vimalāditya and the Kalinga King whose elephant herds he destroyed, drew down the flag of elephant goad, and planted a pillar of victory on the high peak of Mahēndra hill. He also incised the Tiger emblem together with two fishes below the inscriptions. It is to be noted that the Sanskrit inscription is found on the Gōkarnāth temple—the chief and important temple of the Kalingas. What do these show? These clearly indicate that at least a part of the Kalinga kingdom was subjugated by Rajēndra Cōḷadeva. Let us see whether we have got any other evidence to prove these facts. In the two Korni copper-plates we read:

(Copper-plate No. I) *ll.* 17–26.—Then there was born to Kāmārṇava by Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family, the illustrious king Vajrahasta who struck down with his sword, the most terrible thunderbolt as it fell from heaven, reigned for 33 years. Then, his son, King Rājarāja who was a destroyer of the foes, who was endowed with many good qualities and who was like Kubēra, protected for 8 years, the earth surrounded on all sides by the sea. Then Rājasundari, the daughter of Rajēndracōḷa and the queen consort of the King (Rājarāja), bore (Rājarāja) a son.—(C.P. dated Śaka 1003 Mina).

(Copper-plate No. II) *ll.* 80–91.—Then his son Vajrahasta reigned for 33 years. The fame of (Vajrahasta) the best of the Gangas, as pure as the moon-light, spread on all directions bringing joy to the world. Who is able to ward off the thunderbolt (of Indra) except Vajrahasta? (*i.e.*, he holds a thunderbolt in his hand) the lord of the Trikalinga on whose breast resides Lakṣmi and in whose mouth resides Sarasvati. His son Rājarāja reigned for eight years. He first possessed the goddess of victory in the festival of battle with the Draviḷas and next married Rājasundari, the daughter of the Cōḷa king. When Vijayāditya grew old like the setting sun left Vengi which was like

the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Cōḷa, Rājarāja the refuge of the distressed caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region itself.[29]

The Murupaka C.P. grant dated Śaka 1005 also states that Rājarāja married Rājasundari, daughter of Rajēndracōḷa (*ll*. 27–28).[30]

The above extracts from the two Korni plates and the Murupaka grant clearly indicate that there was war between the Cōḷas and the Kalingas. Although it is stated in the plates that the Kalingas had won a victory over the Cōḷās, the *Jayastambha* on the Mahēndra hill and the Tamil inscription found there belie that statement. But the fact that Vijayāditya and the Kalinga King were defeated is proved beyond doubt.

Dr. S. K. Iyengar in one of his presidential addresses says, "Just about this period A.D. 1000, the rising power of the Cōḷās under Rājārāja the Great made itself felt in the north. He made an effective intervention in the somewhat disturbed affairs of the permanent alliance of the Eastern Cālukyas with the Cōḷās, confirmed by a marriage alliance which was further cemented by a further marriage alliance under his son and successor Rajēndra-Gangaikonda Cōḷa. Rājarāja claims conquest of Kalinga which probably meant no more than the attempt to bring the state of Kalinga under the suzerainty of the Cōḷās as was done in the case of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. Perhaps the war did not go much further. But the understanding seems to have been established more permanently when the Kalinga Rājārāja married the daughter of Rājēndra, as did the Eastern Cāḷukya Rājarāja. The son of the latter became the great Cōḷa Emperor, under the name of Kulōttunga about the time when the other grandson of Rājēndra, Anantavarman Coḍaganga, ascended the throne of Kalinga. It

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29 *J.A.R.H.S.*, i, 47 and 123.

30 *Ibid.*, xii, 15.

was Rājēndra I that carried on a regular war of conquest against the country of Kalinga.

"The joint invasion marched further north till it overthrew the king of Kalinga in his central headquarters. It was probably as a result of this invasion that the definitive treaty was concluded with Kalinga, and it was one of the items of the treaty that the marriage was brought about, the outcome of which was peace for more than half of a century till Kulōttunga found it necessary to go to war probably with Anantavarman Coḍaganga early in the twelfth century."[31]

From the above facts it is clear that the monarch who subdued the Kalinga kingdom first is Rajēndracōḷadēva and he is the king who is alluded to in *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram.*

Rajēndrachōḷadēva is the name found in the inscriptions. Let us see what is the name found in the Tamil literature. We find a number of stanzas giving the name of Anapāya in *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram.* All the stanzas bearing that name are collected here and are given below :—

1. என்னே சிலமடவா ரெய்தற் கெளிய வோ
   பொன்னே **யனபாயன்** பொன்னெடுந்தோள்—முன்னே
   தனவேயென் றுளுஞ் சயமடந்தை தோளாம்
   புனவேய் மிடைந்த பொருப்பு.
2. அன்னை போ லெவ்வுயிருந் தாங்கு **மனபாயா**
   நின்னையா ரொப்பர் நில வேந்தர்—அன்னதே
   வாரி புடைசூழ்ந்த வையகத்திற் கில்லையாற்
   சூரியனே போலுஞ் சுடர்.
3. தண்கவிகை யாலுலகந்தாங்கு **மனபாயன்**
   வெண்கவிகைக் குள்ளடங்கா வேந்தில்லை—யெங்கும்
   மதியத்துடன் இரவி வந்துலவும் வானிற்
   பொதியப் படாத பொருள்.
4. பூதலத்து ளெல்லாப் பொருளும் வறியராய்க்
   காதலித்தார் தாமே கவர்தலால்—நீதி
   யடுத்துயர்ந்த கீர்த்தி **யனபாயா!** யார்க்கும்
   கொடுத்தியெனக் கொள்கின் றிலம்.

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[31] *J.A.H.R.S.*, ii, 8–9.

5. தம்மாற் பயன்றுக்கா தியாவரையுந் தாங்கினுங்
கைம்மாறுங் கால முடைத்தன்றே—எம்மாவி
யன்னவனே வாழி யனபா யனேயலராள்
மன்னவனே மானுமோ வான்.

6. இகன்மதமால் யானே யனபாய னெங்கோன்
முகமதியின் மூர னிலவால்—நகமலர்வ
செங்கயற்க ணல்லார் திருமருவு வாள்வதன
பங்கயங்கள் சாலப் பல.

7. மூவாத் தமிழ்பயந்த முன்னுன் முனிவாழி
ஆவாழி வாழி யருமறையோர்—காவிரிநாட்
டண்ண லனபாயன் வாழி யவன் குடைக்கீழ்
மண்ணுலகில் வாழி மழை.

8. வண்புயலைக் கீழ்ப்படுத்து வானத் தருமலைந்து
மண்குளிரச் சாயல் வளர்க்குமாந்—தண்கவிகைக்
கொங்கா ரலங்க லனபாயன் கொய்பொழில்சூழ்
கங்கா புரமாளி கை.

Of these stanzas, 3 and 8 are important in that the third stanza states that all the kings of the earth are under his protection as the Sun which lights the whole world. The last stanza mentions Gangaikondacōḷāpuram and has also a dual meaning which is that the hand of the monarch who is the lord of Gangāpuram protects the three worlds. The most important of all these stanzas is the one in which the name Anapāya is mentioned as the name of the king.

"Oh great King! Anapāya!! You are great by your even-handed justice; we do not think that you bestow gifts on anybody as all the people in the world take to themselves what they want without let or hindrance."

பூதலத்து ளெல்லாப் பொருளும் வறியராய்க்
காதலித்தார் தாமே கவர்தலால்—நீதி
யடுத்துயர்ந்த சீர்த்தி யனபாயா யார்க்கும்
கொடுத்தியெனக் கொள்கின் றிலம்.

The *Kāvyādarśa* has the following in the corresponding section :

Oh King ! You are not praised at any time that you give, because mendicants take your wealth thinking it their own.[32]

Na stūyasē narēndra ! tvam dadāsīti kadācana |
svamēva matvā gṛhṇanti yatastvaddhanamārthinaḥ ||

It is clear from the foregoing that the name of the king was known as *Anapāya* in addition to *Cenni* and other names.

Thus it is seen that *Daṇḍi-y-alamkāram* was composed during the reign of Rājēndrachōḷa better known as Anapāya in the Tamil world and this gives us a definite milestone in Tamil literature. Incidentally, it will not be improper here to remark that Tamil literature may guide us in solving many intricate problems if studied with due care and in proper light.

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[32] Mr. V. Narayanan mentioned this stanza to me.

ADVAITA VEDĀNTA*

By P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A.

The glorious history of Indian Philosophic thought can be broadly divided into two sections: (*a*) The theistic (*āstika-darśanas*) and (*b*) the atheistic (*nāstika-darśanas*). Jainism and Materialism (together with Buddhism, according to some) constitute the atheistic group of Indian Philosophy. The theistic systems are six in number. They are: (1) The *Nyāya* system propounded by Gautama, (2) The *Sāṅkhya* system propounded by the sage Kapila, (3) The *Vaiśeṣika* system propounded by Kanāda, (4) The *Yoga* system propounded by Patañjali, (5) The *Mīmāṃsa* system propounded by the sage Jaimini and (6) The *Vedānta* system propounded by Bādarāyaṇa.

What is alive and vital in Indian Philosophy today is the Vedānta System. The other systems of Philosophy are merely read as accessories to the study of the Vedānta. The term Vedānta means the study of the concluding portions of the Vedas. Each Veda is divided into three distinct parts. The *Mantras* are the invocatory hymns addressed to the several deities presiding over the elements of nature, *e.g.*, Agni, Vāyu, etc. The *Brāhmaṇas* are the explanatory treatises that help us in directing the performance of the rituals, *e.g.*, the arrangement of the objects used in the sacrifices and their description. The *Upaniṣads* are the metaphysical speculations embodying the vital truths of the Vedas. They are the spiritual treasures of India. Many European critics, from the time of Schopanhaur have been great admirers of the Upaniṣads.

The most reputed school of the Vedānta is the Advaita popularised by Śrī Śaṅkara. Śaṅkara in the words of Sir

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* In the matter and the presentation of this article I am highly indebted to the lectures and writings of my esteemed Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar.

S. Radhakrishnan has combined the positive aspect of the Upaniṣadic message with the negative logic of the Buddhists. This metaphysical system is artistic in its structure and irrefutable in its logic. In accordance with tradition, Śaṅkara has relied for the doctrines of his system on the triple texts, the *Gītā*, the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the *Upaniṣads.* He points out that the central purport of the triple text is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman.

The greatest work of Śaṅkara is the celebrated commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras.* Tradition reports and from the several accounts of the life of Śaṅkara we gather, that he finished writing all his works before he was thirty. The commentary is at once a philosophical classic and a piece of great literature. His commentaries on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Cāndogya Upaniṣads* discuss in detail many an important doctrine of Advaita.

The doctrines enunciated by Śaṅkara in his commentary have been subsequently luxuriantly commented upon by a host of post-Śaṅkara scholars who have written independent manuals on the various topics of Advaita. They are called *prakaraṇas* of Advaita. Some of the doctrines of Śaṅkara have been defended *in extenso* and others amplified. "Critics have found fault with the Hindu habit of writing commentaries and sub-commentaries and they have declared that it has not contributed to the development of original thought in Indian Philosophy. Such a criticism is unwarranted and opposed to facts." No one who reads the lengthy discussions of the nature and function of psychosis or the dialectics of difference or the inferential establishment of nescience will continue to believe that there is no scope for originality or progress in the Hindu habit of writing commentaries and sub-commentaries.[1] Post-Śaṅkara dialecticians with an unswerving loyalty to their master have proved to the hilt the manifold doctrines of Advaita through dialectics. A clear

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[1] *Cf.* Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, Introduction to translation of the *Siddhāntaleśa Saṅgraha*, pp. 5 and 6.

study of the Advaita dialectics will unmistakably lead us to the conclusion that Advaita is not a facile intuition based on scriptural declarations and mystical experiences but a cogent intellectual system.

Before Śrī Śaṅkara there were two great Advaita teachers Maṇḍana and Gauḍapāda. The Advaita system is found in some form in Gauḍapāda's Kārikās on the *Maṇḍūkya Upaniṣad.* Śaṅkara has commented on Gauḍapāda's work.

Maṇḍana has worked out a system of Advaita in his *Brahma Siddhi.* He is considered by some scholars to be an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara. He has contributed a great deal to Advaita dialectics. Many a commentator of Śaṅkara has drawn vastly from Maṇḍana.

II

The advent of Śaṅkara is a landmark in the history of Indian Philosophic thought. He has raised the stature of Indian Philosophical thought to great and unsurpassable heights. Of all the systems of Indian Philosophy Śaṅkara's is the most logical. Once we grant the postulates of the system there is nothing to grumble at or resent in the detailed exposition of the doctrines of the system.

Śaṅkara throughout his exposition sought to refute two positions: (1) the *Sāṅkhyana* doctrine of transformation (*Pariṇāmavāda*) and (2) the *Mīmāṃsā* doctrine of ritualism. The Sāṅkhyans are of opinion that the Upaniṣads establish and countenance a dualistic metaphysics of spirits on one side and matter on the other. The Mīmāṃsakas are of opinion that the essential teaching of the Veda is contained in the *Brāhmaṇas* and not in the *Upaniṣads*. They uphold the doctrine that salvation through ceremonial acts is the central purport of the Vedas. They further point out that the reference to the Self in the Upaniṣads should be looked upon as referring to the Self which is the agent in the performance of rites and ceremonies. Action, *i.e.*, *Karma*, and, not Brahman, is the quintessence of the Upaniṣads.

Śaṅkara has criticised *in extenso* the Mīmāṃsā position. He points out that the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads refer to two entirely distinct aspects. The Upaniṣads are the most important and purportful part of the Vedas. The purport of the Upaniṣads is not action but Brahman. The Upaniṣads point out to us the mode of realising the Self which is Brahman. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Mantras* are secondary in their significance. They are not organically and directly connected with the theme of the Upaniṣads. The *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* has nothing to do with the *Uttara Mīmāṃsā*. Ceremonial purity and ethical excellence may at best help the spiritual aspirant but will not directly result in self-realisation. They are not the substitutes for Brahman. Brahman can only be realised by *jñāna*, *i.e.*, by intuition (*Sākṣātkāra*) but not by mere intellectual knowledge.[2]

Further Śaṅkara points out that his Brahman is not the void of the Buddhists. The Brahman of Śaṅkara is the only existent but for it there would be nothing. It is the substrate underlying the whole world of phenomena. Spiritual realisation negates the phenomenal through the affirmation of the real. The Advaita denies only names and forms, but not that which appears under their guise. The reality of the substrate is affirmed but not as a substrate. The Advaitin negates only distinction (*bheda*), the Buddhist negates it (distinction) as well as the distincts. To the Buddhist there is nothing permanent and stable underlying the fleeting flux of the Universe.[3] Such a position is refuted by Śaṅkara elaborately in the second chapter of his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. The central reality Brahman is posited by scripture and is realised by the Self. It is of great interest to note here that some of our modern interpreters of the Advaita Vedānta have tried to equate Advaita and Buddhism. They point out that Buddhism is not nihilism. Professor Radhakrishnan has

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[2] Prof. M. Hiriyanna, *Introduction to Naiṣkarmya Siddhi* and *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 336–37.

[3] Prof. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 373.

consistently maintained that Buddha could by no possible means have preached an arid and barren nihilism to the folk of his day. It is psychologically impossible to believe that Buddha should have enjoyed the spiritual popularity he did if he had really preached nihilism. The Professor concludes that Buddha did affirm a central reality and negated only the phenomenal selves. The silence of Buddha is a classical illustration of the truth that final truths cannot be expressed in words. To take Buddha to be a nihilist is to mistake his true philosophical stature.[4]

Curiously enough the most competent European critic of Buddhism, Mrs. Rhys Davids, till the other day disagreed with the positive interpretation of Buddhism. In her recent *Advanced Manual of Buddhism* she has come round to the view that Buddha's teaching is not nihilistic. Svami Vivekananda suggested that Buddhism was not entirely anti-Hindu. Mahatma Gandhi also in his inspiring address to the Buddhists of Colombo[5] pointed out that the teachings of Buddha formed an integral part of Hinduism. He observed that what passes as Buddhism today was not an essential part of Buddha's life and his teachings. "Buddha never rejected Hinduism or its central reality, *i.e.*, Brahman. He broadened its base and gave it a new life and a new interpretation."

However interesting such an exposition may be, we do not find sanction for it in Advaita literature. Every Advaita thinker has clearly pointed out that there is vital difference between Advaita and Buddhism. The modern interpreters of Buddhism do not find support in the views held by the opponents of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva. They

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[4] For an elaboration of this view refer to *The History of Indian Philosophy*, by S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. I, pp. 700–03 ; *cf.* his British Academy Lecture on 'Gautama, the Buddha,' and his Ceylon Lecture '*The Teachings of Buddha*', pp. 16–19.

[5] Mahatma Gandhi's "Message to Buddhists," a speech delivered on 24th November 1937. (*Buddha*, by Devamitta Dharmapada, pp. 127–33).

believed that Buddha was a nihilist and that the Brahman of Advaita was the thrashed out Śūnya tricked into new words.

III

Brahman is the central reality of Advaita. It is the supreme spirit, consciousness and intelligence. Revealed scripture is the final authority for the existence of Brahman. Brahman is not an object of knowledge, it is knowledge itself. There is nothing besides it. It cannot be described in terms of any other object than itself. It is not a relatum in the relational process of knowledge. It cannot be the content of any cognition without losing its self-hood. It is self-manifest and self-luminous. The instruments of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) can only negatively indicate what Brahman is. There is no knowing of Brahman but only being Brahman. It can only be known in the non-relational form. Brahman knowledge is experience gifted to the disciplined souls who have purified their minds by the performance of scripture-ordained duties and concentrated on scripture-taught reality. Brahman is one without a second.

The establishment of Brahman on the authority of scripture[6] appears unphilosophical at first sight, but in reality it is not so. Supreme authority is claimed not for all scripture as such. Purportful scripture alone is said to be authoritative and not all scripture. Scripture is a mere cogent conglomeration of words. It has to be interpreted by an intelligent agent. The science of interpretation adopts certain determinative marks of purport. They are (1) the harmony of the initial and the concluding passages, (2) Repetition, (3) Novelty, (4) Fruitfulness, (5) Glorification by eulogistic passages and condemnation by deprecatory passages and (6) Intelligibility in the light of reasoning. Reason, this determinative mark of purport, plays a more important part than what is formally avowed. In fact reason steps in at every stage. When we have to settle the introductory

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[6] Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, *cf. Introduction to Bhāmati*, T. P. H., pp. 13–15.

and the concluding passages reason has to help us to distinguish the primary and the secondary passages. It is again reason that has to point out which repetition is purportful and which not. The really novel is to be ascertained by reason. "So the authoritarianism of Advaita is only unphilosophical on the face of it, because the role of reason in the interpretation of scripture is most prominent."

IV

Brahman of the Advaita is not the Creator of the Universe in the sense that a potter creates a pot; nor is creation an emanation from nothing. The non-existent can never create anything out of it. If the effect were really non-existent prior to its creation (a position held by the *Nyāya* School), no agency whatever could bring it (effect) out any more than a thousand craftsmen could turn blue into yellow or extract oil from sand. The Sāṅkhyans criticise the *Nyāya* position, and point out that the effect is found in a potential form in the cause. The effect is merely transformation of the cause. The effect is not non-existent prior to the cause. It is not brought into existence *de novo*. Such a position is intelligible when we perceive the fact that we always seek the appropriate cause for the appropriate effect. One who wants curds seeks milk and not water. It is unintelligible to say that the effect is non-existent prior to its creation. The cause which is an existent cannot have any kind of intelligible relation with non-existent effect. Cause and effect exist as a relation. Relation does obtain only between two relata; and the two relata must be existents. There cannot be any relation between an existent and a non-existent entity. So the Śaṅkhyans declare that the effect is potentially present in the cause. Śaṅkara refutes the Śaṅkhyan theory of causation. He attacks the very intelligibility of the category of cause. The Sāṅkhyan explanation that the effect is merely a transformation of the cause fares no better than the *Nyāya* theory in the hands of Śaṅkara. The argument is as follows:— Let us grant that the effect is the manifestation of the cause.

Before manifestation, is this effect existent or not? If it is already existent, then the causal operation is superfluous. If it is not existent then there will have to be a cause for the manifestation and that in its turn will need another cause. Thus there is infinite regress. Hence the fundamental unintelligibility of the category of cause.[7]

Becoming has to be explained somehow. In the process of explanation either it leaves the problem untouched or explains it away altogether. If they are identified there is no becoming. If cause and effect are really different, we cannot establish any relation between them. It is open to us to say that it is an identity in difference relation. This fares no better at the hands of the Advaitin. In so far as the identity element is concerned, there is no becoming. In so far as they are different there is no relation possible between them. The "Advaitin believes and rightly believes in the progressive development of knowledge. He would concede the doctrine that effect is pre-existent in the cause, in order to lead the pupil on to deny the separate existence of the effect from the cause. He would concede the doctrine of the concrete universal transforming itself into the particulars, in order to lead the pupil to conceive this transformation as nothing but an illusory manifestation."

Cause and effect are illusory manifestations of Brahman. The Brahman is neither the cause of the world nor is he transformed into the world.[8]

V

The Advaitin describes Brahman in a negative manner and finds support for it in the Upaniṣads. The negative description is grounded in logic. The whole of the Advaita dialectics rests on two general postulates (*a*) the absolutely real is never sublated, (*b*) the absolutely unreal is never

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[7] Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhya-kārika*; (translation), pp. 28–32 (second edition).

[8] Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, *The Bhāmati Catussūtri*; (translation) pp. 28–29 (Introduction).

cognised. The example for the absolutely real is the Brahman. The examples for the absolutely unreal are the barren-woman's son and the horns of a hare. In between these two categories the whole world of plurality is caught up. The whole world of plurality which we perceive manipulate and live in, is neither real nor unreal. In deep sleep we experience the sublation of the pluralistic universe. Being sublated it is not real; neither is it unreal because it is cognised. Nor is it real and unreal because such a definition violates the law of contradiction. It is this indeterminable nature of the universe that is connoted by the term *Māyā*.

According to the Advaitin the apparatus of finite knowledge with all its categories is only applicable to the sphere of the indeterminable. Brahman cannot adequately be known by these finite categories. The absolutely real Brahman loses its Self-hood when it becomes an object or relational knowledge. So no predication in respect of Brahman is intelligible, because there is nothing real besides itself. The Upaniṣadic description of Brahman in terms of knowledge, bliss and infinitude should not be interpreted as predication. Brahman is not one who has infinite knowledge and infinite bliss. He is knowledge and bliss itself. The predicates attributed to Brahman in the Upaniṣads should be interpreted in terms of identity. The import of propositions here is identity and not predication. All the attributes of which scripture speaks with reference to Brahman ought to be carefully examined and interpreted. It is the weakness of finite cognition to compare the infinite and refer to it in terms of the finite. It is meaningless to refer to the Brahman as the good or the truthful. It is the final truth and the final good and we cannot refer to it in terms of any other thing. Predications have no meaning with reference to Brahman, because He is perfect; there can be no progress for the perfect. Progress and perfection are in Brahman and not of Brahman The Brahman does not admit of substrate-attribute relation. It does not admit of the relation between the part and the whole. It is the end as well as the means. It is spoken of

as the impartite one. It is these logical difficulties that have prevented Śaṅkara from thinking the highest reality in terms of personality.

"The affirmative theology" of the other schools of the Vedānta in their anxiety to bring the Absolute into relation with the relative makes the Absolute itself relative. Those schools conceive of God as an object of Reality and not as Reality itself. They make Him an object similar to those of the material world. Besides logical inconsistencies the moral effects that form a part of theistic creeds which believe in a personal God, are very well elaborated by a modern philosopher. The Hebrew concept of God as a magnified human person with human passions is not morally the best ideal. He is represented as wrathful, jealous and vindictive. This being so the devotees too tend to be like that. This fanaticism has resulted in burning the witches and tormenting heretics. Personality and individuality are in the last resort a limitation and hinder the spirit of the unitary consciousness. "Belief in a personal moral God has led only too frequently to theoretical dogmatism and practical intolerance." In the name of the divine moral, men have committed many an atrocity.[9]

The traditional arguments put forward to establish a personal God do not go a great way. They are not very satisfactory. The causal argument is no longer tenable because the category of cause itself is pointed out to be unintelligible in the last resort. The design argument establishes God as a mechanic limited by the material with which he has to work. The design argument does not rule out the possibility of a plurality of designers. The moral argument that God somehow brings about the wedlock of happiness and virtue for men who are moral, turns out to be a process of wish-fulfilment. So the central Reality cannot be a personal God.

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[9] Huxley, *Ends and Means*, pp. 272–84.

VI

The universe of plurality on the Advaita hypothesis is neither created by Brahman, nor is it a transformation of Brahman. It is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. The central problem of Advaita is : How does this illusory manifestation take place and why does it take place ? The straight answer to this question is the most inexplicable knotty expression, *Māyā*, *i.e.*, nescience. It is this nescience that is responsible for the plurality we perceive. It has two functions. It obscures the substrate, *i.e.*, Brahman and projects in its place the world of plurality. In the words of Prof. Hiriyanna " suppression precedes substitution". This nescience is indeterminable. It is not definable in terms of anything. It is the material cause of the world of plurality. The jurisdiction of nescience is so complete that it only leaves out Brahman. Finite cognition, the categories of such cognition, the instruments of human knowledge, the import of scriptures, etc., are all products of nescience. Nescience is represented as a positive beginningless entity which is sublatable.

The Advaitin's concept of nescience has been submitted to a great deal of criticism. The law of the excluded middle is the tool with which the Advaitin is attacked. The world is spoken of by the Advaitin as illusory. Is that illusion illusory ? If the illusoriness of the universe is itself an illusion, then the world becomes real, because of the cancellation of the two negations. If the illusoriness of the universe is real there is contradiction for the Advaita doctrine that there is only one Reality. The resourceful Advaitin finds his way out of this dilemma. He does say that the illusoriness of the universe is illusory. The nerve of his argument is as follows : " The difficulty seems to arise from the fact that a qualification can apply only to something other than itself, not both to itself and others. Illusoriness is a qualification we predicate and the subject of the predicate cannot itself be illusory. The illusory illusion must be real. But surely nothing can be farther from truth. The

illusoriness of the illusion is a paradox but it is no greater paradox than the affirmation of the reality of the real."[10]

Our very knowledge is a paradox for the following reasons. We cannot have the knowledge of the unknown, since there can be no activity in respect of what is known, nor can knowledge be the known. If it be contended that it is of the partly known, then does the cognitive activity apply to the known part or the unknown? In either case we have the same old difficulty. Because of this we have to recognise the paradox of knowledge.[11] Further it is plain to us that there is at the root of finite cognition and knowledge a core of irreducible unintelligibility. We conclude that the relational knowledge of the finite is not perfect and it is only an appearance of perfect knowledge. Because of this central paradox in all finite activity and the irreducible unintelligibility thereof, the Advaitin does not commit himself to any definite description about the nature of the world of plurality. He does not recklessly repudiate. His is not an attitude of blind faith or blank negation. He is scientific in his suspense of judgment in the absence of evidence. By the very use of the categories of logic he points out the rift in its lute. The great lesson of Advaita logic is that it exposes the clay-footed nature of logic and points out that she is not the Madonna of Thought that the *Nyāya* School imagines. The Advaitin is not out to demonstrate this or that position. He points out that every other position held by the opponent is untenable. Then we are left with the witness of the condemnation. The definitions and proofs attempted by the Advaitin are only a concession to the clamour of the dualistic mode of expression.[12]

Another usual objection raised against nescience is based on its practical efficiency. The objection is as follows:

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10 Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, *Introduction to Siddhānta-leśa-Saṅgraha*, Vol. I, pp. 48–51.

11 Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, Principal Miller Lectures, *Advaita and the Concept of Progress*, 1937, pp. 14–15.

12 Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar, *Advaitavidyāmukura*, *J.O.R.*, Vol. 10, p. 286.

Nescience is described by the Advaitin as indeterminable. How can the indeterminable be practically efficient ? The Advaitin's reply to this is that practical efficiency belongs only to the indeterminable and to nothing else. Practical efficiency cannot belong to Brahman who is the Absolute, real, pure, perfect and free from change. It is only that which is short of such reality that can have practical efficiency is established in respect of the world of plurality.

How can the cognition generated by the nescience-tainted *pramāṇa* lead us to Brahman intuition ? To this the Advaitin replies that error is oftentimes the gateway to truth. A false instrument of knowledge can help us to cognise a real object. The phenomenal *prmāṇas* can point to the Noumenal reality. In the world of scientific thought we find that erroneous hypotheses lead us to valid theories. So the illusory nature of the *pramāṇa* is no obstacle for us to know the truth. Just as the proverbial bamboo in the forest which lights up the whole forest and burns itself out along with the forest, the final intuition destroys the world of plurality as well as itself. The image of a person reflected in a mirror is not real but still it serves as means for showing us the defects in our face. Error and delusion have their own utility.

(*To be continued*)

TRIPURA RAHAŚYA

By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer

(*Continued from Vol. XXX, No. 1, page 90*)

Chapter XX

Vidya Gīta

1–20. "I shall now relate to you an ancient sacred story. On one occasion very long ago there was a very distinguished gathering of holy saints collected in the abode of Brahma, the Creator, when a very subtle and sublime disputation took place. Among those present were Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatkumāra and Sanatsujāta, Vasiṣta, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kṛatu, Bṛghu, Atri, Angīras, Pracheta, Nārada, Chyavana, Vāmadēva, Viśvāmitra, Gautama, Śuka, Parāśara, Vyāsa, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa, Dakṣa, Sumanta, Śaṅka, Likhita, Devala and other celestial and royal sages. Each one of them spoke of his own system with courage and conviction and maintained that it was better than all the rest. But they could reach no conclusion and so asked Brahma: 'Lord! We are sages who know all about the world and beyond, but each one's way of life differs from that of the others because the dispositions of our minds differ. Some of us are always in *Nirvikalpa Samādhi*, some engaged in philosophical discussions, some sunk in devotion, some have taken to work, and others seem exactly like men of the world. Which is the best among us? Please tell us. We cannot decide ourselves because each thinks that his way is the best.'

"Thus requested, Brahma seeing their perplexity answered: 'Best of saints! I also would like to know. There is Paramēśwara who is the All-knower. Let us go and ask him.' Collecting Viṣṇu on their way, they went to Śiva. There the leader of the deputation, Brahma, asked Śiva about the matter. Having heard Brahma, Śiva divined the mind of Brahma and understood that the ṛṣis were wanting in confidence and so that any words of his would be useless.

He then said to them, 'Hear me, Ṛṣis! Neither do I clearly see which is the method. Let us meditate on the Goddess—Her Majesty Unconditioned Knowledge—we shall then be able to understand even the subtlest of truths by Her Grace.' On hearing these words of Śiva, all of them, including Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma, meditated on Her Divine Majesty, the Transcendental Consciousness pervading the three states of life (waking, dream and sleep). Thus invoked, She manifested in Her glory as the Transcendental Voice in the expanse of pure consciousness.

" They heard the Voice speak like thunder from the skies, 'Speak out your minds, O Ṛṣis! Be quick, the desires of my devotees will always be fulfilled immediately.'

21–28. " Hearing the Voice, the exalted ṛṣis prostrated and Brahma and the others praised the Goddess—namely Absolute Conscuoisness pervading the three states of life.

" Salutations to Thee! the Greatest! the Best! the Most Auspicious! the Absolute Knowledge! the Consciousness of the three states! the Creatrix! the Protectress! the Dissolver in the Self! the Supreme One transcending all! Salutations again!

" There was no time when Thou wast not, because Thou art unborn! Thou art ever fresh and hence Thou never growest old. Thou art all; the essence of all, the knower of all, the delighter of all. Thou art not all. Thou art nowhere, with no core in Thee, unaware of anything, and delighting no one.

" O Supreme Being! Salutations to Thee, over and over again, before and behind, above and below, on all sides and everywhere.

" Kindly tell us of Thy relative form and Thy transcendental state, Thy prowess, and Thy identity with *jñāna*. What is the proper and perfect means for attaining Thee, the nature and the result of such attainment? What is the utmost finality of accomplishment, beyond which there remains nothing to be accomplished? Who is the best among the accomplished sages? Salutations again to Thee!

29. "Thus besought, the Goddess of ultimate knowledge began with great kindness to explain it clearly to the sages.

30. "Listen, sages! I shall categorically explain to you all that you ask. I shall give you the nectar drawn out as the esssence from the unending accumulation of sacred literature.

31–40. "I am the abstract intelligence wherefrom the cosmos originates, whereon it flourishes, and wherein it resolves, like the images in a mirror. The ignorant know me as the gross universe, whereas the wise feel me as their own pure being eternally glowing as 'I—I' within. This realisation is possible only in the deep stillness of thought-free consciousness similar to that of the deep sea free from waves. The most earnest of devotees worship me spontaneously and with the greatest sincerity which is due to their love of me. Although they know that I am their own non-dual Self, yet the habit of loving devotion which is deep-rooted in them makes them conceive their own Self as Me and worship ME as the life-current pervading their bodies, senses and mind, without which nothing could exist and which forms the sole purport of the holy scriptures. Such is my Transcendental State.

"My concrete form is the eternal couple—the Supreme Lord and Energy,—always in undivided union and abiding as the eternal consciousness pervading the three phenomenal states of waking, dream and sleep, and reclining on the cot whose four legs are Brahma (the Creator), Viṣṇu (the Protector), Śiva (the Destroyer) and Īśvara (Disappearance) and whose surface is Sadāśiva (Grace) which is contained in the mansion known as 'fulfilment of purpose' enclosed by the garden of '*kadamba*' trees in the jewel island situated in the wide ocean of nectar surrounding the cosmos and extending beyond.

"Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, Gaṇēśa, Skanda, the Gods of the eight quarters, their energies, other Gods, celestials, serpents and other superhuman beings are

all manifestations of myself. However, people do not know ME because their intellect is shrouded in ignorance.

41. "I grant boons to those who worship ME. There is no one besides ME worthy of worship or capable of fulfilling all desires.

Commentary.—All deities who receive worship and all conceptions of God, are My manifestations, because I am pure intelligence which cannot under any circumstances be transcended.

42. "The fruits of worship are put forth by Me according to the mode of worship and the nature of individual desires. I am indivisible and interminable.

43. "Being non-dual and abstract intelligence I spontaneously manifest even as the smallest detail *in* the universe and *as* the universe.

44. "Though I manifest in diverse ways, I still remain unblemished because absoluteness is My being. This is My chief power, which is rather hard to understand fully.

45. "Therefore, O Ṛṣis! consider this with the keenest of intellect. Though I am the abode of all and immanent in all I remain pure.

46–49. "Although I am not involved in any manner and am always free, I wield My power—called *Māyā*; become covered with ignorance, appear full of desires, seek their fulfilment, grow restless, project favourable and unfavourable environments, am born and reborn as individuals, until growing wiser I seek a teacher and sage, learn the truth from him, put it in practice and finally become absolved. All this goes on in My pure, uncontaminated, ever free absolute intelligence. This manifestation of the ignorant and the free, and of others, is called My creation which is however, without any accessories—My power is too vast to be described. I shall tell you something of it in brief. It is that the cosmos is only the obverse of the mind which is projected from consciousness.

50. "Knowledge relating to Me is complex but it can be dealt with under the two categories: *dual* and *non-dual*,

of which the former relates to worship and the latter to realisation. On account of their intricacies, there are many details in them leading up to different results.

51. "Dual knowledge is manifold because it depends on the concept of duality and manifests as worship, prayer, incantation, meditation, etc., etc., all of which are due to nothing more than mental imagery.

52–53. "Even so, they are efficacious in contradistinction to day-dreams, for, the law of nature provides for it. There are degrees in the efficacy of the methods, of which the most important concerns the aspect mentioned before (see above the concrete form of Dēvī). The ultimate goal of all is certainly non-dual realisation.

Commentary.—Mental imagery cannot put forth tangible results either directly or in successive stages. But the one relating to God differs from ordinary day-dreams in that it purifies and strengthens the mind in order to make it fit to realise the Self. Again the most efficacious among the concepts of God is the one already mentioned, namely, the eternal couple. Although it will not directly remove ignorance yet it will help its removal for the resurrection of the man as a full blown *jñāni.*

54. "Worship of Abstract Intelligence in a concrete form is not only useful but *essential* for non-dual realisation. For how can one be made fit for it, without Her benediction.

55. "Non-dual realisation is the same as pure Intelligence absolutely void of objective knowledge. Such realisation nullifies all objective knowledge revealing it in all its nakedness to be as harmless as a picture of a pouncing tiger or of an enraged serpent.

56. "When the mind has completely resolved into the Self, that state is called *Nirvikalpa Samādhi* (the undifferentiated peaceful state). After waking up from it, the person is overpowered by the memory of his experience as the one, undivided, infinite, pure Self and he knows 'I am That' as opposed to the puerile I-thought of the ignorant. That is Supreme Knowledge (*Vijñāna* or *Pratyabhijña jñāna*).

Note.—The advanced state of meditation is *Savikalpa Samādhi*, where the person is aware that he has turned away from objectivity towards subjectivity and feels his proximity to the state of Self-Realisation. When he actually sinks within the Self, there is no knowledge apart from the simple awareness of blissful existence. This is *Nirvikalpa Samādhi*. Waking up, he sees the world just as any other man does but his outlook has become different. He is now able to know his pure Self and no longer confounds himself with the ego. That is the acme of Realisation.

57. "Theoretical knowledge consists in differentiating between the Self and the non-Self through a study of the Scriptures, or the teachings of a Master, or by one's own deliberation.

58–62. "Supreme wisdom is that which puts an end to the sense of non-Self once for all. Non-dual realisation admits nothing unknown or unknowable and pervades everything in entirety so that it cannot in anyway be transcended, (*e.g.*, a mirror and the images). When that is accomplished, the intellect becomes quite clear because all doubts have been destroyed; (doubts are usually with regard to creation, the identity of the Self and their mutual relationship) and then the predispositions of the mind (*e.g.*, lust, greed, anger, etc.) are destroyed though any remnants of these that may remain are as harmless as a fangless viper.

63. "The fruit of Self-realisation is the end of all misery here and hereafter and absolute fearlessness. That is called Emancipation.

Note.—There is an end of misery in sleep; but the potentiality of misery is not ended. Realisation destroys the cause of misery and sets the man free for ever.

64–65. "Fear implies the existence of something apart from oneself. Can the sense of duality persist after non-dual Realisation, or can there be darkness after sunrise?

"O Ṛṣis! There will be no fear in the absence of duality. On the other hand, fear will not cease so long as there is the sense of duality.

66. "What is perceived in the world as being apart from the Self is also clearly seen to be perishable. What is perishable must certainly involve fear of loss.

67. "Union implies separation; so also acquisition implies loss.

68–70. "If emancipation be external to the Self, it implies fear of loss, and is therefore not worth aspiring for. On the other hand, *mōkṣa* is fearlessness and not external to the Self.

"When the knower, knowledge and the known merge into unity that state is totally free from fear and hence *mōkṣa* results.

"*Jñāna* (Supreme Wisdom) is the state devoid of thoughts, will and desire, and is unimpeded by ignorance.

71. "It is certainly the primal state of the knower, but remains unrecognised for want of acquaintance with it. The *Guru* and *Śāstras* alone can make the individual acquainted with the Self.

72–77. "The Self is abstract intelligence free from thought. The knower, knowledge and the known are not real as different entities. When differentiation among them is destroyed, their true nature is evident in the resulting non-dual consciousness, which is also the state of emancipation.

"There is in fact no differentiation among the knower, etc. The differences are simply conventions retained for the smooth working of earthly life. Emancipation is eternal and, therefore, here and now, it is nothing to be acquired. The Self manifests as the knower, knowledge and the known; the cycle of births and deaths endures with all the apparent reality of a mountain so long as this manifestation lasts. As as soon as the manifestation is realised to consist of the Self alone without any admixture of non-self, the cycle of births and deaths comes to a standstill, and is broken down to fragments like clouds dispersed by strong winds.

78. "Thus you find that earnestness is the only requisite for emancipation. No other requisite is needed if the longing for emancipation is intense and unwavering.

79. "What is the use of hundreds of efforts in the absence of a real and unswerving desire for emancipation? That is the sole requisite and nothing else.

80–81. "Intense devotion signifies mental abstraction as the devotee loses himself in the desired object. In this particular instance, it will mean emancipation itself. For such unwavering devotion must certainly succeed and success is only a question of time—which may be days, months, years, or even the next birth, according as the predispositions are light or dense.

82–83. "The intellect is ordinarily befouled by evil propensities and so nothing good flourishes there. Consequently, the people are boiled in the seething cauldron of births and deaths. Of these evil propensities, the first is want of faith in the revelations made by the *Guru* and in the Śāstras; the second is addiction to desires; and the third is dullness (*i.e.*, inability to understand the revealed truth). This is a brief statement of them.

84–85. "Of these, want of faith is betrayed by one's doubts regarding the truth of the statements and by failure to understand them. The doubt arises whether there is *mōkṣa*; and later misunderstanding leads to its denial. These two are sure obstacles to any sincere efforts being made for realisation.

86. "All obstacles are set at nought by a determined belief in the contrary; that is to say—determined belief regarding the existence of *mōkṣa* will destroy both uncertainty and misunderstanding.

"But the question arises how this determined belief will be possible when faith is wanting. Therefore cut at its root. What is its root?

87–88. "Want of faith has its root in unfavourable logic. Give it up and take to approved logic as found in holy books and expounded by a *Guru*. Then enlightenment becomes possible and faith results. Thus ends the first evil propensity.

89–95. "The second propensity, namely desire, prevents the intellect from following the right pursuit. For, the mind

engrossed in desire, cannot engage in a spiritual pursuit. The abstraction of a lover is well known to all; he can hear or see nothing in front of him. Anything said in his hearing is as good as not said. Desire must therefore be first overcome before aspiring for spiritual attainment. That can be done only by dispassion. This propensity is manifold, being in the form of love, anger, greed, pride, jealousy, etc. The worst of them is pursuit of pleasure which, if destroyed, destroys all else. Pleasure may be subtle or gross. Neither of these must be indulged in, even in thought. As soon as the thought of pleasure arises, it must be dismissed by the will-power developed by dispassion.

96–99. "In this way, the second evil propensity is overcome. The third, known as dullness resuting from innumerable wicked actions in preceding births, is the worst of the series and hardest to overcome by one's own efforts. Concentration of mind and understanding of truth are not possible when dullness prevails.

"There is no remedy for it other than worship of the Goddess of the Self (adoration, prayer, meditation, etc.). I remove the devotee's dullness according to his worship, quickly, or gradually, or in the succeeding birth.

100–102. "He who unreservedly surrenders himself to Me with devotion, is endowed with all the requisites necessary for Self-Realisation. He who worships Me, easily overcomes all obstacles to Self-Realisation. On the other hand, he, who being stuck up, does not take refuge in Me—the pure intelligence manipulating the person—is repeatedly upset by difficulties so that his success is very doubtful.

103–104. "Therefore, O Ṛṣis! the chief requisite is one-pointed devotion to God. The devotee is the best of aspirants. The one devoted to abstract consciousness excels every other seeker. Consummation lies in the discernment of the Self as distinguished from the non-Self.

105–112. "The Self is at present confounded with the body, etc., such confusion must cease and awareness of the Self must result as opposed to nescience in sleep.

"The Self is experienced even now; but it is not discerned rightly, for it is identified with the body, etc., there is therefore endless suffering. The Self is not hidden indeed; it is always gleaming out as 'I', but this 'I' is mistaken for the body, owing to ignorance. On this ignorance ceasing, the 'I' is ascertained to be the true consciousness alone; and that sets all doubts at rest. This and nothing else has been ascertained by the sages to be finality. Thaumaturgic powers such as flying in space, etc., are all fragmentary and not worth a particle of Self-Realisation. For this is the unbroken and immortal bliss of the Self in which all else is included.

"Thaumaturgic powers are also hindrance to Self-Realisation. Of what use are they? They are but simple acrobatic tricks. The Creator's status appears to a self-realised man; to be only a trifle what use are these powers, unless for wasting one's time?

113. "There is no accomplishment equal to Self-Realisation which is alone capable of ending all misery because it is the state of eternal Bliss.

114. "Self-Realisation differs from all accomplishments in that the fear of death is destroyed once for all. Realisation differs according to the antecedent of practice.

Note.—Realisation of the Self and eternal inherence as unbroken 'I—I' in all surroundings are the practices and the fruit.

116–119. "You have seen great *pandits* well versed in the *Vedas* and capable of chanting them quite correctly amidst any amount of distractions. They are the best. Those who are capable businessmen, repeat the *Vedas* quite correctly when they engage in chanting them without other distractions. These are the middle class.

"Whereas others are constantly chanting them and do it well. Such are of the lowest order among *pandits*. Similarly there are distinctions among the sages also.

120–121. "Some sages abide as the Self even while engaged in complex duties, such as ruling a kingdom (*e.g.*,

King Janaka); others can do so in intervals of work; still others can do so by constant practice alone. They are respectively of the highest, the middle and the lowest order. Of these, the highest order represents the utmost limit of realisation.

122. "Unbroken supreme awareness even in dream is the mark of the highest order.

123. "The Person who is not involuntarily made the tool of his mental predispositions but who invokes them at his will, is of the highest order.

124. "He who abides in the Self as 'I'—'I', as spontaneously and continuously as the ignorant man does in the body, is again of the highest order.

125. "He who, though engaged in work, does not look upon anything as non-self, is a perfect sage.

126. "He who even while doing his work remains as if asleep is a perfect sage.

127. "Thus the best among the sages are never out of *samādhi*, be they working or idle.

128–133. "He who is from his own experience capable of appreciating the states of other *jñānis* including the best among them, is certainly a perfect sage. He who is not influenced by happiness or misery, by pleasure or pain, by desires, doubts or fear, is a perfect sage. He who realises pleasure, pain and every other phenomenon to be in and of the Self, is a perfect sage. He who feels himself pervading all—be they ignorant or emancipated—is a perfect sage. He who knowing the trammels of bondage, does not seek release from them and remains in peace, is a perfect sage.

"The perfect among the sages is identical with Me. There is absolutely no difference between us.

134. "I have now told you all these in answer to your questions. You need no longer be perplexed with doubts.

135. "Having said so, Transcendental Intelligence became silent.

Then all the Ṛṣis saluted Śiva and the other Gods and returned to their own abodes.

"I have now told you the sacred *Gītā* of pure knowledge, which destroys all sins and purifies the mind. This *Gītā* is the best among *Gītās* because it has proceeded from Abstract Intelligence Herself and it leads one to emancipation on being attentively heard and cogitated upon.

"This *Gītā* is the raft to save one from sinking in the ocean of *samsāra* (cycle of births and deaths), and so it must be read or repeated every day with love and care."

Thus ends the chapter of *Vidyā Gītā* in *Tripura Rahaśya.*

Chapter XXI

On the Accomplishment of Wisdom, its Nature and Scriptural Lore

1. After Paraśurāma heard this from Śrī Dattātreya, he felt as if released from the meshes of ignorance.

2–8. He again saluted Śrī Datta and asked him with great devotion : "Lord ! please tell me exactly how wisdom can be accomplished. I want to hear the essence of it in brief. The method should also be easy and at the same time efficient. Please also tell me the characteristics of the sages, so that I may readily recognise them. What is their state with or without the body ? How can they be unattached though active ? Kindly tell me all this."

Thus requested, the son of Atri spoke to him with pleasure : "Listen ! Rāma, I am now telling you the secret of accomplishment. Of all the requisites for wisdom, Divine Grace is the most important. He who has entirely surrendered himself to the Goddess of his own Self is sure to gain wisdom readily. Rāma ! this is the best of all the methods.

9–17. "This method does not require other aids to reinforce its efficiency, as other methods do for accomplishing the end. There is a reason for it. Pure Intelligence illumining all has cast a veil of ignorance of Her own over all. Her true nature is evident only after removing this veil by discrimination. This is hard for those whose minds are directed outward ; and it is easy, sure and quick for devotee engrossed in the Goddess of the Self to the exclusion of all else.

"An intense devotee, though endowed with only a little discipline of other kinds (*e.g.*, dispassion), can readily understand the truth though only theoretically, and expound it to others. Such exposition helps him to imbue those ideas and so he absorbs the truth. This ultimately leads him to identify all individuals with Śiva and he is no longer affected by pleasure or pain. All-round identification with Śiva makes him the best of *jñānis* and a *jīvanmukta* (emancipated here and now). Therefore *bhakti yōga* (way of devotion) is the best of all and excels all else.

18–24. "The characteristics of a *Jñāni* are hard to understand, because they are inscrutable and inexpressible. For instance, a *pandit* cannot be adequately described except by his appearance, gait and dress because his feelings, depth of knowledge, etc., are known to himself alone; while the flavour of a particular dish cannot be exactly conveyed by word to one who has not tasted it; but a *pandit* can be understood only by another *pandit* by his method of expression. A bird alone can follow the track of another bird.

"There are of course some traits which are obvious, and others which are subtle and inscrutable. Those which are obvious are their speech, language, postures of meditation, signs of worship, dispassion, etc., which can however be imitated by non-sages.

25. "What are accomplishments to others to the accompaniment of dispassion, meditation, prayer, etc., remain natural to the sage whose mind is pure and unsophisticated.

26. "He, whom honour and insult, loss or gain cannot affect, is a sage of the best class.

27. "The best among sages can, without hesitation, give complete answers on matters relating to Realisation and the sublimest truths.

28. "He seems to be spontaneously animated when discussing matters pertaining to *jñāna* (realisation) and is never tired of their exposition.

29. " His nature is to remain without effort. Contentment and purity abide in him. Even the most critical situations do not disturb his peace of mind.

30. " These are qualities which must be tried for oneself and verified; they are of no value as tests applied to others, for they may be genuine or spurious.

31. " An aspirant must first apply the tests to himself and always prove his own worth; he can then judge others.

32–33. " How can the repeated testing of oneself fail to improve one? Let one not spend his time judging others; but let one judge himself. Thus he becomes perfect.

34–38. " What have here been called the traits of a *Jñāni* are meant for one's own use and not for testing others, because they admit of many modifications according to circumstances. For instance, a *Jñāni* who has realised the Self with the least effort may continue in his old ways although his mind is unassailable. He looks like a man of the world for all practical purposes. How then can he be judged by others? Nevertheless, one *Jñāni* will know another at sight just as an expert can appraise precious stones at a glance.

" The *Jñānis* of the lowest order behave like ignorant men in their care for their bodies.

39–54. " They have not attained *Sahaja Samādhi* (*samādhi* unbroken even while engaged in work, etc.). They are in the State of Perfection only when they are calm or composed. They have as much of the body-sense and enjoy pleasure and pain with as much zest as any animal when they are not engaged in the investigation of the Self.

" Though they are not always inquiring into the Self, yet there are periods of the perfect state owing to their previous practice and experience. All the same, they are emancipated because the animal-sense is only an aberration during interludes of imperfection and does not leave any mark on them. Their aberration is similar to the ashy skeleton of a piece of burnt cloth which, though retaining the old shape, is useless. Again, the intervals of Realisation have an abiding effect on their lives, so that the world does

not continue to enthral them as heretofore. A dye applied to the border of a cloth 'creeps' and shades the body of the cloth also.

"The middle class of *jñānis* are never deluded by their bodies. Delusion is the false identification of 'I' with the body; this never arises with the more advanced *jñānis*, namely the middle class among them. Identification of the Self with the body is attachment to the body. The middle class of *jñānis* are never attached to the body. Their minds are mostly dead because of their long practice and continued austerities. They are not engaged in work because they are entirely self-possessed. Just as a man moves or speaks in sleep without being aware of his actions, so also this class of *yogi* does enough work for his minimum requirements without being aware of it. Having transcended the world, he behaves like a drunken man. But he is aware of his actions. His body continues on account of his *vāsanas* (predispositions) and destiny. *Jñānis* of the highest class do not identify the Self with the body and remain completely detached from their bodies. Their work is like that of a charioteer driving the chariot, who never identifies himself with the chariot. Similarly the *jñāni* is not the body nor the actor; he is pure intelligence. Though entirely detached from action within, to the spectator he seems to be active. He performs his part like an actor in a drama; and plays with the world as a parent does with a child.

55–56. "Of the two higher orders of *jñānis*, the one remains steadfast through his sustained practice and control of mind, whereas the other is so on account of the force of his discrimination and investigation. The difference lies in the merits of their intellect. I shall now relate to you a story in this connection.

57–79. "There was formerly a king by name Patnangada ruling in the City of Amrita on the banks of the Vipasa. He had two sons Rukmāṅgada and Hēmāṅgada—both wise and good and dearly loved of their father. Of them Rukmāṅgada was well versed in the Śaṣtras and Hēmāṅgada

was a *jñāni* of the highest order. On one occasion both of them went out on a hunting expedition into a dense forest, followed by their retinue. They accounted for many a deer, tigers, hares, bisons, etc., and being thoroughly exhausted, they rested beside a spring. Rukmāṅgada was informed by some persons that there was a *Brahmarākṣas* (a species of ghoulish spirit of a learned but degenerate Brahmin) close by, who was very learned, accustomed to challenge *pandits* for discussion, vanquish them and then eat them. Since Rukmāṅgada loved learned disputations, he went with his brother to the ghoul and engaged him in argument. He was however defeated in the debate and so the ghoul caught hold of him to devour him. Seeing it, Hēmāṅgada said to the ghoul, 'O Brahmarākṣas, do not eat him yet! I am his younger brother. Defeat me also in argument so that you may eat us both together.' The ghoul answered, 'I have long been without food. Let me first finish this long-wished for prey, and then I shall defeat you in debate and complete my meal with you. I hope to make a hearty meal of you both.

"Once I used to catch any passerby and eat him. A disciple of Vasiṣta, by name Devarata, once came this way and he cursed me, saying, 'May your mouth be burnt if you indulge in human prey any more.' I prayed to him with great humility and he condescended to modify his curse thus: 'You may eat such as are defeated by you in debate.' Since then I have been adhering to his words. I have now waited so long for prey that this is very dear to me. I shall deal with you after finishing this.'

"Saying so, he was about to eat the brother; but Hēmāṅgada again interceded, saying, "O Brahmarākṣas, I pray you kindly accede to my request. Tell me if you would relinquish my brother if other food were found for you. I will redeem my brother in that way if you will allow it.' But the ghoul replied, saying, 'Listen, King! there is no such price for redemption. I will not give him up. Does a man let his long-wished for food slip away from his hold? However I shall tell you now a vow which I have taken. There

are many questions deeply afflicting my mind. If you can answer them satisfactorily, I shall release your brother.' Then Hēmāṅgada asked the ghoul to mention the questions so that he might answer them. The ghoul then put him the following very subtle questions which I shall repeat to you, Paraśurāma! They are:—

80. "What is more extensive than space and more subtle than the subtlest? What is its nature? Where does it abide? Tell me, Prince."

81. "Listen, Spirit! Abstract Intelligence is wider than space and subtler than the subtlest. Its nature is to glow and it abides as the Self."

82. "How can it be wider than space, being single? or how is it subtler than the subtlest? What is that glow? and what is that Self? Tell me, Prince?"

83. "Listen, Spirit! Being the material cause of all, intelligence is extensive though single; being impalpable, it is subtle. Glowing obviously implies consciousness and that is the Self."

84. Spirit: "Where and how is *Chit* (Abstract Inteligence) to be realised and what is the effect?"

85. Prince: "The intellectual sheath must be probed for its realisation. One-pointed search for it reveals its existence. Rebirth is overcome by such realisation."

86. Spirit: "What is that sheath and what is concentration of mind? Again what is birth?"

87. Prince: "The intellectual sheath is the veil drawn over Pure Intelligence; it is inert by itself. One-pointedness is abiding as the Self. Birth is the false identification of the Self with the body."

88. Spirit: "Why is that Abstract Intelligence which is ever shining not realised? What is the means by which it can be realised? Why did birth take place at all?"

89. Prince: "Ignorance is the cause of non-realisation. Self realises the Self; there is no external aid possible. Birth originated through the sense of doership."

90. Spirit : "What is that ignorance of which you speak ? What is again the Self ? Whose is the sense of doership ?"

91. Prince : "Ignorance is the sense of separateness from consciousness and false identification with the non-self. As for the Self, the question must be referred to the Self in you. The ego or the 'I-thought' is the root of action."

92. Spirit : "By what means is ignorance to be destroyed ? How is the means acquired ? What leads to such means ?"

93. Prince : "Investigation cuts at the root of ignorance. Dispassion develops investigation. Disgust of the pleasures of life generates dispassion towards them."

94. Spirit : "What is investigation, dispassion or disgust in pleasures ?"

95. Prince : "Investigation is analysis conducted within oneself, discriminating the non-self from the Self, stimulated by a stern strong desire to realise the Self. Dispassion is non-attachment to surroundings. This results if the misery consequent on attachment is kept in mind."

96. Spirit : "What is the root cause of the whole series of these requirements ?"

97. Prince : "Divine Grace is the root cause of all that is good. Devotion to God alone can bring down His Grace. This devotion is produced and developed by association with the wise. That is the prime cause of all."

98. Spirit : "Who is that God ? What is devotion to Him ? Who are the wise ?"

99. Prince : "God is the master of the Cosmos. Devotion is unwavering love to Him. The wise are those who abide in Supreme Peace and melt with love for all."

100. Spirit : "Who is always in the grip of fear, Who of misery, Who of poverty ?"

101. Prince : "Fear holds a man possessed of enormous wealth ; misery of large family ; and poverty, of insatiable desires."

102. Spirit : "Who is fearless ? Who is free from misery ? Who is never needy ?"

103. Prince: "The man with no attachments is free from fear; the one with controlled mind is free from misery; the Self-realised man is never needy."

104. Spirit: "Who is he that passes men's understanding and is visible though without a body? What is the action of the inactive?"

105. Prince: "The man emancipated here and now passes men's understanding; he is seen though he does not identify himself with the body; his actions are those of the inactive."

106. Spirit: "What is real? What is unreal? What is inappropriate? Answer these questions and redeem your brother."

107. Prince: "The subject (*i.e.*, the Self) is real; the object (*i.e.*, the non-self) is unreal; worldly transactions are inappropriate.

"I have now answered your questions. Please release my brother at once."

108. When the Prince had finished, the ghoul released Rukmāṅgada with pleasure and himself appeared metamorphosed as a Brahmin.

109. "Seeing the figure of the Brahmin full of courage and *tapas* (penance), the two princes asked him who he was.

110–122. "I was formerly a Brahmin of Magadha. My name is Vasuman. I was famous for my learning and known as an invincible debater. I was proud of myself and sought the assembly of those learned *pandits* who collected in my country under royal patronage. There was among them a great saint, perfect in wisdom and entirely Self-possessed. He was known as Ashtaka. I went there for love of debate. Though I was a mere logician, I argued against his statement on Self-Realisation, by sheer force of logic. He backed his arguments by profuse quotations from the holy scriptures. Since I was out to win laurels, I continued to refute him. Finding me incorrigible, he kept silent. However, one of his disciples, descended of Kaśyapa lineage, was enraged at my audacity and cursed me before the king,

saying : 'You chip of a Brahmin ! How dare you refute my Master without first understanding his statements ? May you at once become a ghoul and remain so for a long time.'

" 'I shook with fear at the imprecation and took refuge at the feet of the sage Ashtaka. Being always Self-possessed, he took pity on me though I had figured as his opponent just before ; and he modified his disciple's curse by pronouncing an end to it as follows : 'May you resume your old shape as soon as a wise man furnishes appropriate answers to all the questions which were raised here by you, answered by me but refuted by your polemics.'

" O Prince ! You have now released me from that curse. I therefore consider you as the best among men, knowing all that pertains to life here and beyond."

" The princes were astonished at that story of his life.

123–124. " The Brahmin asked Hēmāṅgada further questions and became further enlightened. Then the princes returned to their city after saluting the Brahmin.

" I have now told you everything, O Bhargava ! "

Thus ends the chapter on the Episode of the Ghoul in *Tripura Rahaśya.*

(*To be continued*)

STUDIES IN BIRD MYTHS

New Series—No. II

On Birds as Co-operators in Primitive Creation-Myths

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IT has been very aptly said that myths are the primitive man's attempts to solve the riddle of the universe. Now the accounts which have been given by him of the way in which the world and its inhabitants have been made or created, and the answers to the question why and how this world has been made, are known to Cultural Anthropologists as *Creation-Myths* or *Cosmogonic Myths*. The leading characteristics of these Creation-Myths are (*a*) that an animal makes the habitable world and mankind issue from the joint of a reed or is vomited up by a cow and so on; (*b*) or a superhuman being creates mankind and the first man does the rest; or (*c*) a beneficent being passes from place to place on the already existing earth, endowing each region with its special products, and, then, is no more seen; or (*d*) a god creates the earth and a demon makes the sea drown it; or (*e*) superhuman beings inhabit the dry land and bring the waters into existence for their own use; or (*f*) the waters are created first and the dry land is fished up from them by gods or heroes.*

If we study the Creation or Cosmogonic Myths of the primitive races of people which inhabit the globe, we will find that beasts and birds and reptiles play an important part or render active assistance in the creation of this world and of its inhabitants. From a careful examination of the Creation-Myths of three American Indian tribes and of one Pre-Dravidian race of India, namely, of the Santals, which will be described and discussed in this paper, we will find that to *the kindly co-operation of the birds alone, a good deal of the*

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* *Vide Handbook of Folklore*, by C. S. Burne. New and enlarged edition, London; Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, page 262.

progress in the creation of this world and of mankind is to be ascribed.

First of all, we will describe the Hopi or Moqui American Indian Creation-Myth which is as follows :—

I

The Hopi or Moqui Indians, who inhabit Arizona in North America, narrate the undermentioned myth to account for the creation of the world. They say that, in the very beginning, there was nothing but water everywhere and that two spiritual beings named Huruing Wupti lived in their houses in the water, one on the east side and the other on the west side thereof. These two deities, by their united efforts, caused dry land to appear in the midst of the waters. In his daily journey across the surface of the newly-created earth, the sun observed that there were no living creatures thereupon and informed the two divinities of this great defect. Having received this information, the two deities met and consulted with each other. As the result of their consultation, they made up their minds to create a little bird.

Accordingly, the eastern divinity made a wren of clay. Thereafter, she and her western colleague chanted an incantation upon this clay-bird, whereupon it came to life. Then they sent out the wren to fly over the world and to see whether he could find any living creature on the surface thereof. On his return, he reported that no such living creature existed anywhere on the world.

Thereafter the two deities created many beasts and birds in like manner and sent them forth to inhabit the newly-created world.

Last of all, the two deities resolved to create Man. Accordingly, the eastern goddess took a lump of clay and moulded out of it, first, a woman and, then, a man, both of which clay-images were subsequently endowed with life, just in the same way as the beasts and birds had been before them.†

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† *Folklore in the Old Testament*, by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged edition. New York ; The Macmillan Company, 1923, page 13.

In the second place, I shall describe the Creation-Myth, which is prevalent among the Hurons who are another of the important Indian tribes inhabiting North America. It is as follows :—

II

The Huron Indians say that, in the very beginning, there was nothing but water which was inhabited by various kinds of aquatic animals and birds. During this time, a celestial woman, very likely pushed down by her husband, fell down through a rift in the sky. Just then two loons were flying over the water and, seeing her falling down from the sky, supported her on their wings and loudly called out for help. All the aquatic creatures heard the call for help and came near but were unable to render any assistance. But the powerful tortoise which was of huge proportions, agreed to relieve the two loons of their heavy burden. As all the aquatic creatures decided that this divine woman must have earth to live upon, the beaver, the musk-rat, the diver and others, one after the other, dived below the water to bring up some mud but failed to bring up any. Some of the creatures remained under the water so long that, when they rose up to the surface, they died out of sheer exhaustion. The tortoise searched their mouths but could not find therein any trace of mud or earth. At last, the toad dived below the water and remained there so long that, that when he came up to the surface, he was so much exhausted that he appeared to be dead. But the tortoise found within its mouth some earth which he made over to the divine woman. She placed this earth very carefully all round the edges of the tortoise's shell, so that it became dry land which gradually grew larger and larger until it became a great country. The tortoise supported all this heavy burden and has done so ever since then. The woman, who had fallen down from the sky, gave birth, in course of time, to two sons who were of opposite dispositions, one of them being good and the other being evil. The evil-disposed son, in a fit of rebellious obstinacy, burst through his mother's side and killed her. She was buried in

the ground ; and from her buried body, grew up all the trees, shrubs and creepers, which made the earth a suitable dwelling place for man. The two brothers could not live amicably ; and so they separated from each other. The good brother created all the harmless and useful animals. While the bad brother created all the fierce and monstrous creatures.‡

In the third place, I shall give an account of the Creation-Myth which is current among the Indians of California in North America. It is as follows :—

III

The Indians of California narrate a tradition to the effect that, in the beginning, the whole universe was covered with water and that there were no living creatures except an eagle and a crow. They sat upon a stump which projected out of the surface of the waters and conversed with each other from that position. With mutual co-operation, they created a duck for enlivening the solitude. One day, the duck dived down to the botton of the waters and came up to the surface bringing some mud in its bill. Thinking the matter to be worth looking into, the eagle and the crow examined the mud the like of which they had not seen before and concluded that great possibilities lay in it. They, therefore, deputed the duck to dive down and bring up mud with its bill over and over again. They divided all this mud between themselves and made therewith two heaps one on each side of the stump. After some unavoidable absence, the eagle returned and found that the crow had not made a fair and equitable division of the mud, but had appropriated much the larger portion thereof. The Indians say that the eagle's heap became what is known as the coast range of mountains ; while the crow's heap became the Sierra Nevada. But, being exceedingly angry with the crow for his dishonesty, the eagle reversed the position of the two heaps. And so the mountains remain, to this day ; while all men honour the eagle but despise the crow.§

‡ *Vide An Introduction to Folklore* by Marian Roalfe Cox, New and Enlarged. London : David Nutt, 1897, pp. 254–56.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

Lastly, I shall take up for discussion the Cosmogonic Myth of the Santals, who are an aboriginal people, living in a low plane of culture, in the Santal Perganas of Bihar in Northern India. It is as follows :—

IV

In the very beginning, there was nothing but water, water everywhere ; and, not a bit of dry land was to be found anywhere. But now this wide and desolate world of waters was ruled over by Thakur the Supreme Being, Marang Buru the Great Spirit, and the Munds who were counsellors of the two former.

One day, one of the Munds suggested to Thakur the idea of creating human beings. Thereupon the latter had two figures made out of the froth of the waters and intended to breathe into them the spirit of human life. By a mistake, Thakur breathed into the two figures the spirit of bird-life, whereupon these images assumed the forms of two birds, flew away and could not be found anywhere.

After twelve months, the two birds returned and requested Thakur to supply them with a bit of dry land whereupon they might live. Accordingly, Thakur and the Munds ordered the fish, the crab and the earth-worm to build up dry land so that it might appear above the surface of the waters. But all of them failed to do so. Thereafter the tortoise, being an aquatic animal, was fastened to the bottom of the waters ; and on his back the earth-worm and the centipede heaped up clay and mud which gradually grew up into the size of an island. It is on this island that Thakur planted a tree and some grass. On this island, the two birds named Has and Hasin built their nest in which the female bird laid two eggs which were hatched, in course of time, into two human babies, one a boy and the other a girl. These two babies ultimately became the progenitors of mankind. The Santals call the boy Pilchu Haran and the girl Pilchu Budhi.*

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* *Vide* my article entitled : "*On the Cosmogonic Myth of the Santals*" in the *Hindustan Review* (published from Allahabad) for March 1919, pp. 238–55.

On comparing the four afore-described Creation-Myths, we find that :—

(1) In the Hopi or Moqui Indian Myth, it was the little bird wren who was sent out by the two divinities to fly over the newly-created world and to see whether any living creature existed thereupon. On his return, the wren informed the two goddesses that no such living creature existed anywhere. On receiving this information, the two divinities created many beasts and birds and sent them forth to inhabit the newly-created world.

(2) In the Huron Indian Myth, it was two aquatic birds or loons who were flying over the surface of the wide world of waters and who found a celestial woman falling down from the sky. Finding her in this dangerous position, the two loons temporarily supported her on their wings until they were relieved of their heavy burden by the huge tortoise. This celestial woman subsequently created the world on the back of the tortoise.

(3) In the Californian Indian Myth, it was an eagle and a crow who were the only two living creatures existing on the universal expanse of waters and who sat on a stump that projected out of the surface thereof. With mutual co-operation, these two birds created a duck to enliven the solitude. They deputed the duck to dive down to the bottom of the waters and to bring up therefrom mud on his bill. The duck did this work over and over again; and the mud that was brought up by him was divided by the eagle and the crow between themselves and was accumulated into two heaps, one on each side of the stump on which they sat. According to the tradition of the Californian Indians, the eagle's heap became the range of mountains which borders the coast of California; while the crow's heap became the Sierra Nevada.

(4) In the Santal Myth, it was the two birds named Has and Hasin that built their nest on the newly-created island, and it was in this nest that the female bird laid two eggs which were hatched in course of time, into two human

babies, one a boy and the other a girl, who subsequently became the progenitors of mankind.

(5) It will not be out of place to mention here one point of contact between the Huron Indian and the Santal Creation Myths. In the Huron cosmogonic story, the celestial woman built upon the back of the tortoise the world with the mud which was found within the mouth of the toad. In the Santal story, the earth-worm and the centipede heaped up mud and clay on the back of the huge tortoise, which heap gradually grew up into an island which became the nucleus of the world.

(6) There is another point of contact between the Hopi or Moqui and the Santali Creation Stories. In the Hopi or Moqui Myth, the eastern and the western goddesses made the clay-image of a wren, and endowed it with life by chanting an incantation upon it. Subsequently, they made clay-images of other beasts and birds and, last of all, of a man and a woman, all of which they endowed with life by similarly chanting incantations upon them. While, in the Santali Creation Story, Thakur, the Supreme Being, made two clay images of birds which he endowed with life by breathing the bird-spirit into them. The female bird laid two eggs from which were hatched a human boy named Pilchu Haran, and a human girl named Pilchu Budhi, who subsequently became the progenitors of mankind.

(7) From what I have said above, it would appear that birds have rendered great " assistance in the creation of the world".

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS

New Series—No. II

The Saffron-Flower in Kashmiri Folk-Song

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The saffron (*Crocus sativus*), which belongs to the order *Iridaceæ* is known in Sanskrit as *Kunkum*, in Bengali as *Jāfrān*, in Hindi as *Kesar* or *Zāfrān*, in Tamil as *Kungumapu*, in Telugu as *Kunkum-Apavu* and in Burmese as *Than-wen*. The dried stigmas and styles of this flower are known in commerce as *Zāfrān*. This article is chiefly brought from Persia and Kāshmīr, and is used as a spice, in cookery and for flavouring confectionery. It yields a yellow dye; but its price is too high to admit of its extensive use as such. It is medicinally prescribed in fever, melancholia and in enlargement of the liver. If it is administered in small doses, it is useful as a stomachic. But when given in large doses, it stimulates the nervous system.

As the saffron-flower grows in Kashmir, it figures largely in the folk-songs sung by the peasantry of that province. When it is in full bloom, and its bright golden colour dazzles with brilliance on a serene moon-lit night, the Kāshmīri peasants are fond of looking at them, and, entranced by their glowing beauty, burst into the following song, in which they give vent to the inmost feelings of their hearts:—

"1. Like gold art thou gleaming, O saffron-flower!
2. Like gold art thou gleaming.
3. To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower!
4. Like gold art thou gleaming.
5. Like a burning lamp dost thou look in a moon-lit, night,
6. Like a burning lamp dost thou look.
7. To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower!
8. Like gold art thou gleaming.
9. Who hath given thee colour, O saffron-flower!

10. Who hath given thee colour ?
11. To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower !
12. Like gold art thou gleaming."
13. " God hath given me colour, O peasant !
14. God hath given me colour."
15. "To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower !
16. Like gold art thou gleaming.
17. Who hath given thee scent, O saffron-flower !
18. Who hath given thee scent ?
19. To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower !
20. Like gold art thou gleaming."
21. " God hath given me scent, O peasant !
22. God hath given me scent."
23. " To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower !
24. Like gold art thou gleaming.
25. Just would I give thee a sweet embrace, O saffron-flower !
26. Just would I give thee a sweet embrace.
27. To thee do I devote my all, O saffron-flower !
28. Like gold art thou gleaming."

When the saffron-flowers are in full bloom, the peasant-girls of Kāshmīr regard these floral beauties in the light of rivals in the affections of their sweethearts and even go to the length of dreaming of their lovers ' being embraced by those flowers, as will appear from the following folk-song :—

1. Towards Pampur flew away my love ;
2. The saffron-flowers confined him in sweet embrace.
3. O he is there ; and, ah me ! I'm here.
4. When, when, O God ; would I see his face ?

From the under-mentioned song, we find that a Kāshmīri village-belle regards herself so beautiful as to think of her own beauty surpassing even that of a lovely saffron-flower :—

1. Proud of thyself art thou,
2. O saffron-flower !
3. Far lovelier than thee am I,
4. O saffron-flower !

When, during the month of October, the saffron-flowers are in full bloom at Pampur, the Kāshmīri peasant-girls undertake a trip to that locality for the express purpose of having a look at their soul-enthralling beauty and give vent to their feelings of satisfaction in the following song :—

1. Let's go to Pampur, O maiden !
2. When blooms the saffron.
3. It makes my heart throb,
4. And steals it, ah me !
5. Let's go to Pampur, O maiden !
6. When blooms the saffron.

When a Kāshmīri peasant-girl is not endowed with much personal beauty, and when, for this reason, her lover's affection for her begins to wane, she gives vent to her feelings of sorrow at the latter's coldness in the following lament :—

1. All the world, O saffron-flower ! is the spectator (and appreciator) of the beauty ;
2. But, ah me ! I have no beauty (like thine).

The following cradle-song illustrates, in a striking manner, the Kāshmīri mother's tenderness for her baby and her appreciation of its delicate beauty :—

1. So delicate (and lovely) are thy feet, my darling !
2. That saffron-flowers, come and cling to them (for the purpose of assimilating some of their beauty).

The saffron-flower also figures in the marriage song of the Kāshmīri peasantry, as will appear from the following example thereof :—

1. Now wake up, wake up, O bridegroom's mother !
2. Come out, O bride ! with a saffron-shower (over thee).

The saffron has been grown in Kāshmīr from the remotest antiquity and is also mentioned in that great Hindu historical work—The *Rājtarangini*. But the Muslim peasantry of Kāshmīr are ignorant of these facts. The Muhammadan villagers who live in the neighbourhood of Pampur, and who are illiterate, superstitiously believe that that the saffron-flower has been created by the miracle of a *Pīr* or saint named Shak Bab Sa'b in whose thaumaturgic powers they firmly

believe and in whose commemoration they have erected a shrine at Pampur. This superstitious belief of theirs is well set forth in the following song which they sing :—

1. What a miracle of Shak Bab Sa'b
2. Are ye, O saffron-flowers of Pampur !
3. I would address ye as my dearest ones,
4. O ye saffron-flowers of Pampur !
5. I would embrace ye all,
6. O ye flowers of love !
7. O ye saffron-flowers of Pampur !
8. What a miracle of Shak Bab Sa'b
9. Are ye, O saffron-flowers of Pampur !

Last scene of all that ends this fascinating story of the growth and beauty of the saffron-flower is that wherein is depicted the contractor who has come to the saffron-field and under whose orders these floral beauties are being plucked for being conveyed to the manufactory where they will be subjected to the last stage of the process of preparing them into a marketable commodity.

Catching the last glimpses of the beautiful saffron-flowers as they are being plucked and taken away from the fields, a Muslim villager, addressing a co-villager of his, named Samad, bursts forth into the following lament :—

1. How golden is the colour of the saffron-flower, O Samad !
2. How golden is the colour of the saffron-flower.
3. Enjoy to the full its glorious beauty, O Samad !
4. How golden is the colour of the saffron-flower.*

From a study of the foregoing Kāshmīri folk-songs, we find that—

*For the texts and English translations of the aforementioned songs, I am indebted to Prof. Devendra Satyarthi's interesting article entitled: "*Kashmiri Literature and Folk-songs,*" which has been published in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta) for March 1935, pp. 306–14. I have made verbal alterations in several passages thereof for bringing out the full sense of the context.

1. The Muslim villagers of Kāshmīr are possessed of the æsthetic sensibility in a remarkable degree and are great connoisseurs of the beauty and fragrance of flowers.

2. They are illiterate and ignorant of the past traditions of the country (Kāshmīr) in which they live, move and have their being.

3. They are very superstitious and credulous.

4. They are firm believers in the cult of *Pīrs* or saints and in the latter's thaumaturgic or miracle-working powers. For this reason, they believe that the saffron-flowers, beautiful as they are, have been created by a miracle wrought by their popular saint Shak Bab Sa'b.

5. Kāshmīri mothers are very fond of their young children on whose delicacy and tenderness they take delight in expatiating in their cradle-songs.

6. We also get interesting glimpses of the marriage-customs of the Kāshmīri villagers from their folk-songs. For instance, in one song, it is mentioned that, according to custom, the mother of the Kāshmīri bridegroom has to welcome her newly-married daughter-in-law by showering powdered saffron upon her.

REVIEWS

The Great Mystery or Life Beyond Death. By H. L. Kaji. (Published by New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 4.)

THE book before us purports to unfold the great mystery of Life beyond Death, as dictated by the spirit of the famous spiritualist, the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to Diwan Bahadur Hiralal L. Kaji of the Indian Educational Service, Bombay. The messages were read off the Ouija Board, the media being Mr. H. L. Kaji's son, Mr. Ashok H. Kaji and his nephew, Mr. Subodh B. Kaji. Mr. Kaji writes in his Preface " who dictated or spelt out the letters of the words in the sentences in the book is a question indeed. We are told, the spirit is that of the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. If the public want any proof of this, I am sorry, I am not in a position to give it, though I feel convinced that the dictator was Sir Arthur's spirit indeed." If we want to profit in this venture, or for that matter, in any endeavour, we must have faith. In this case, we must have faith, irrespective even of the identity of the spirit, in the fact that the sentences read off the Ouija Board were communications by a disembodied spirit from the other side of Death. Mr. Kaji offers as much assurance as is humanly possible, both by stressing the relative ignorance of the media in respect of the subjects dealt with in the book and by his account of the development of the work and the testimony of the distinguished galaxy of enthusiasts who witnessed the " sittings on various occasions and enrolled themselves as believers".

Those interested in spiritualism will be glad to have further testimony of the reliable nature of such phenomena in a typewritten copy of answers given to two friends on a planchette and now in the possession of the Mythic Society.

The book affords fascinating reading. It contains ample proof for any one who has doubts about the existence

of the soul, spirit, ego, or whatever else may designate the 'principle', the separation of which from the physical body constitutes the phenomenon of "Death" and about its persistence beyond death.

But neither this book nor the typewritten matter in our possession takes us much beyond yielding this proof.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's spirit (*vide* page 86) was in the fifth plane until the book under review was almost completed in May 1937 and it was only on the 10th May 1937 that it was transferred to the sixth plane, and there is as explained by it, still another plane higher than that, and even that seventh plane is only "the highest rung in the ladder of progress; but it does not mean the end of life separates from the Creator" (p. 90). And spirits in the seventh plane do not communicate with the world of living persons (p. 93). Obviously, then, we cannot hope to get final solutions for our spiritual problems by this means of spirit communication.

The limitations being thus known, is it not better to seek the answer to the profound fundamental problems from the recorded experiences of the 'Seers', the realised souls, the *jīvanmuktas*, spread over all times and all climes? The ancient Indian Ṛṣis answer these questions with confident authority and positive certainity. So do the founders and sages of the other great religions in their own setting. It may be futile to turn away from them.

A. V. R.

A Brief Glossary of Buddhist Terms. (The Buddhist Lodge, 37, South Eaton Place, Westminster, London, S.W. 1. Second & Revised Edition. Price 3/-, Post 2*d*.)

AN English glossary of Buddhist terms which appeared in instalments in the Journal, *Buddhism in England*, of the Buddhist Lodge, London, was published in 1931 and the present book is the second and revised edition. It is a small vocabulary of various Buddhist terms and concepts presented in a tiny and handy brochure and conveniently and neatly got up. The book is very useful to the students of Buddhism.

It is very desirable that some of the concepts and terms should be still further examined, elaborated and made more comprehensive with useful and diacritical marks.

P. B. R.

A Buddhist Bibliography. (Compiled by Arthur C. March. The Buddhist Lodge, 37, South Eaton Place, Westminster, London, S.W. 1 Annual Supplements for 1936, 1937 and 1938 available for sale at 1/7, Post free.)

SPECIALISED bibliography is certainly necessary to the serious student and the specialist in any subject. As the Compiler states in his Preface, "comparative religion is now becoming so widely and deeply studied, and its literature is assuming such proportions, that guides through its complexities are now essential." This book supplies the need and it is a complete bibliography of almost all the works relating to Buddhism. It lists out in alphabetical order authors who have written on Buddhism and contains a very valuable Analytical Subject Index.

A supplement to this invaluable work is issued annually in a convenient form, and thus the Bibliography is revised and brought up to date.

P. B. R.

"Conquest of Sorrow." By Swami Sachchidanand. (Published by Mr. K. L. Bose, 43, Badan Roy Lane, Beliaghata, Calcutta. Price 10 annas.)

THE book contains the consolations given, with success, by the Swamiji to a grief-stricken father on the loss of a son. Professor Srikumar Bannerjee of Rajshahi College has contributed a useful Foreword. As he says, the book "deals with the most insistent, insoluble problem of human life and religion". Sorrow, especially that due to bereavement, is a universal experience, and the problem for all religions is how to live it down and make it contribute to the enrichment and expansion of our spiritual nature. In the words of the Swamiji, Sorrow is an emotional state of mind

arising out of the loss, actual or supposed, of some object of affection. Sorrow is most intense when there is no hope of the object ever coming back as in death. Death is the most acute and incisive cause of sorrow. But sorrow is more subjective, mental than objective, for the same object that habitually produces pleasure may, at times cause even pain according to the temper, at the time, of the subject that feels. In ultimate analysis every body is a collocation of countless positions and electrons as the scientists tell us or of living *Prāṇās* as the Upaniṣads teach. These *Prāṇās* are immortal according to the Vedānta. Science, too, teaches us that matter and energy are indestructible. Birth is an integration and death is disintegration or dissolution thereof. Both Vedānta and Science agree in holding that death is only a change of form and is impossible in its absolute sense. Loss then is loss of form and relation.

Soul is self-conscious energy or self-energising consciousness and is either unembodied or embodied. Unembodied consciousness is the Absolute. Embodied Consciousness, Energy or Soul is either Cosmic (God) or Individual (*Jīva*). To a Vedāntist, nothing is nonliving. Every electron (परमाणु) in a body is a living entity and has a soul in it. Physically and spiritually, therefore, both the subject and the object belong to the same category of being. Both of them live, move and have their being eternally together in the Cosmic Soul. Neither of the two is ever lost to the other.

The first part of the author's theme lays under contribution the essence of Sānkhya and Vedānta, and indicates the support given to it by modern science. There is also a suggestion of what appears to be a weak point born of this attempt at reconciliation, in that the author posits a soul in every electron, as much as to imply that the entity 'man' whose death is deplored in the text is an aggregate of souls.

The Swamiji proceeds to say "where there is no affection, there is no sorrow". No mortal being can escape sorrow unless his mind attains a state of equilibrium or equanimity.

Affection is an attachment to an object and the loss thereof is inevitable. For no object of attachment can last for ever unless that object be the immortal Universal Self. Death is not so mournful as it is generally supposed to be. Rightly understood, death gives a pang to life but it adds a cubit to the soul. Death raises the soul higher and is a blessing. Birth is bondage, death is *mukti*. Here again, we notice an over-statement (if we may use such a term). All death is *not mukti*. Should that be so, suicide which is condemned by every religion would ensure *mukti* and 'Murder' would be a good turn and cease to be a crime.

The Swamiji next proceeds to explain the place of Sorrow in the scheme of life and of spiritual advancement. We think more of God in adversity than in prosperity. As the Kannada proverb goes "ಸಂಕಟ ಬಂದರೆ ವೆಂಕಟರಮಣ" "sorrow turns us to God—the ultimate Goal." Sorrow must be conquered or controlled. It cannot be extinguished. Sorrow can be overcome by cutting off the link of attachment—not by abolition of the senses and the mind, but by a withdrawal or transfer of attention, and by having Will, or Ātman to control the senses and the mind instead of the outer objects. As the Gīta says "बुद्धौ शरण मन्विच्छेत्"—"Seek shelter in Reason", and "योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा"—"Give up attachment and do your activities stationed in *Yoga*." The only way to disarm sorrow is to rationalise all emotions. This conquest demands (i) a will, (ii) correct knowledge of ways and means and (iii) action. For all these, a *guru* is necessary. Once the desire is there, a *guru* will be found. For there is an eternal law "A competent *siṣya* is never in want of a competent *guru*". The sting is in the *feeling* and the cure is in the *understanding* of sorrow.

A. V. R.

"India's Quest for Reality." By R. J. Jackson. (Published by the Buddhist Lodge, 37, South Eaton Place, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, Price 1/-.)

IN six chapters, Mr. R. J. Jackson deals in a masterly manner with the "Quest in the Upaniṣads," "the Rajput Teachers

of India—the author of the Gīta," "Yoga Philosophy" and the Buddhist philosophy in regard to Māya and Time. The treatment throughout is clear and indicates a sympathetic understanding of the masterpieces. The quest in the Upaniṣads is for a state of being that shall be coincident with absolute wakefulness and that shall in a measure attain to the Self within us that shines with its own light—that is Brahman.

The goal is reached when subject and object are one, where individuality—the separate 'I'—is destroyed and absorption is complete; where we close with all we flow from; where

Life is lifted out of living—
Soul grows Brahm.

Nothing now remains but Brahman, grasped by us through pure intuition, and Brahman is fullness of joy or again in the words of Yāgñavalkya, "This person (*i.e.*, the individual self) when embraced by the Self of Knowledge, the supreme Self—knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within. This indeed is his true form in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the Self only is his wish, in which no wish is left—free from any sorrow." The author meets the common attack that this state is equivalent to utter annihilation thus:—

"Is it really so? Let us remember that the Self in this state is called *vijnamāya* (consisting of knowledge) and *prāgña* (the supremely intelligent)."

Dealing with the Gīta, he says that it may be fairly assumed that it was composed by a Rajput teacher, a thinker and seer whose mind was cast in a broad mould. The author of the Gīta has in a poem of great beauty interwoven threads from the Sānkhya, Yoga and Vedānta systems, combined with the doctrine of faith (*bhakti*) in Kṛṣṇa, and of strict devotion to *Dharma* (duties of caste). As distinct from the ethic of world-flight and world-renunciation this book (the Gīta) teaches Arjuna and the world how to conquer doubts and fears and attain enlightenment by resolutely pursuing the pathway of duty in the world.

"** yet in working
Never work for recompense ; let the act's motive be in the act itself".

"Yoga" is not used in the sense of 'union' but of "equability" as defined in the Gita or "harnessing oneself for some work," or earnest seeking or concentration. Yoga really means "*Viyoga*, separation or *viveka*, discrimination between Puruṣa and Prakṛti, subject and object, Self and Nature." This discrimination, their subduing and drawing away from the Self, all that is not Self, is the highest object of philosophy. Sānkhya (Kapila) achieves this by knowledge (*Jñāna-yoga*). Yoga (Patanjali) achieves this by ascetic exercises delivering the Self from the fetters of the body and the bodily senses. Yoga is the effort of restraining the activity or distractions of our thoughts, through a number of breathing exercises, postures of the body and meditation on the sacred *Om* avoiding any temptation for psychic powers and avoiding even spiritual pride.

The author next proceeds to deal with the doctrine of Māya. He considers it a purely Indian product of later Vedic times. Māya is the fruit of a long process of development ; of speculation and introspection, stretching back nearly a thousand years before the birth of Chirst. The *conquest* of life and the emancipation from rebirth is the starting point and the grand consummation of all schools of Indian philosophy, including Buddhism. This was sought to be achieved in the beginning along the lines of asceticism and flight from the world. Buddhism also in its early stages regarded the body as the enemy of the '*spirit*' and aimed at a purely spiritual state of emancipation from suffering *by getting free from the body*. But the Middle Path is advocated early in its development, and in the loftier teaching of the Mahāyāna the idea of an individual escape is regarded as a heresy and an illusion. Death in battle is better than to live defeated. Life is not an empty illusion but rather a wonderful opportunity for service. The history of Buddhist countries and emperors amply proves their faith in life and their solicitude for life-promoting and

healing activities. 'Māya' to these Buddhists did not mean 'illusion'. Nirvāṇa is annihilation, only in a strictly relative sense. The life of the disciple is a continual *growing out* of himself into a greater. It is *rest in activity*, the tranquillity of the man who has risen above himself. True rest is not quietism but well balanced activity. The idea that Buddha or Yāgñavalkya had taught an "escapist" philosophy of life is based on a false interpretation of Māya. Renunciation of the world is not regarded as essential for attainment. Behind Māya lies Avidya. Avidya does not mean ignorance—our individual ignorance—but an ignorance inherent in human nature, something like a general cosmic force, as darkness inevitable in the light, which causes the phenomenal world to seem and to be to us what it seems. Hence this Nescience or Avidya caused to be called Māya. Māya originally meant power as *Śakti*, the power that produced the whole world. The real Buddhist seer has the vision of the Eternal in the world of change. Thought when it thinks itself out to the end, must become religion by being lived and tested by the supreme test of life. The discipline of philosophy works the same as a religious vocation. Mental alertness, not mental death, has been the characteristic of Indian philosophy throughout its long history. *The great Sannyāsins of India have been the helpers of Humanity. The true Sannyāsins, like the Buddha, the greatest of them all, were prepared to suffer for mankind with intense humility, burning faith and sincere love.*

Time, the author next proceeds to indicate, is a function of Māya or Avidya. We might imagine regarding the past and future not as non-existent, but only as *inaccessible*—that a Being sufficiently high in the scale of existence could not only perceive the whole of the present as an instant, but could include the past and the future in a comprehensive survey, and that to such a Being, outside the Circle of Becoming, the whole of existence would be an eternal Now. Time is linked up with our Conscious states, apart from which it cannot be said to have any meaning. The varied experiences through which we pass and of which our life is made up,

are important for us in the moment we live them, but when we cling to such experiences and identify ourselves with them, we have failed to realise that the Eternal Man in us is not a being of "Time". Attachment to life means attachment to death, for, in the magic circle of time, these are *inseparable*. All that exists in time must perish. To the awakened there is no Time or Space or Change.

A. V. R.

Mahāyāna Buddhism. By Beatrice Lane Suzuki. (The Buddhist Lodge, 37, South Eaton Place, Westminster, London, S. W. 1. Price *sh.* 3/6.)

Professor Beatrice Lane Suzuki describes Mahāyāna Buddhism as found in Japan. In an introduction Prof. Dr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, a leading authority on Mahāyāna Buddhism, traces Buddhism and its development in China and in Japan. According to him, the spiritual vitality of Buddhism lies in its sūtras and not in its śāstras so called, which are philosophical treatises. Whoever the compilers of the Mahāyāna Sūtras may be, they are genuine expressions of the deepest spiritual experiences gone through by humanity as typified in this case by Indian minds. And just because of these sūtras (*Saddharma puṇḍarīka* and *Avatamsaka*) being worked upon and interpreted by the Chinese mind and not by the Indian, Buddhism has come to live in a new light, to display a new form of vitality unknown to India. The signification of the *Avatamsaka* and its philosophy is unintelligible unless we once experience the state known as *Abhiśyandita-kāyacitta. Abhiśyandita* means "dissolution," *kāya* "the body," and *citta* "mind"; that is to say, a state in which we are no more conscious of the distinction between mind and body. This state of complete dissolution, where there is no more distruction between mind and body, subject and object, is known as the realisation of absolute *Sūnyata* (emptiness), that is, Reality or Mind, to use Avatamsaka terminology.

Zen developed in China along with the Buddhist mysticism of *Sūnyata.* It is not the revolt of the Chinese mind to Buddhism but its assimilatory response to the call of the Buddhist religion and it is the practical consummation of Buddhist thought in China while the Kegou (*Avatamsaka*) philosophy is its theoretical culmination. In religion, practical experience must go hand in hand with philosophy and philosophy with experience. The Buddhism that was destined to disappear practically from India when left to its own resources was brought back to life in China where it gave great stimulus to the Chinese mind and in a remarkably original way. Its (Mahāyāna's) real doctrine of salvation is to transcend causality, in other words, to make the transcendental power of Buddha work freely over the ignorance of all beings. It was he (Shinran in Japan) indeed who first promulgated the doctrine of salvation by faith alone (the grace of Amida). Mahāyāna may yet perform wonders in years to come.

When Buddha obtained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, two courses were open to him—to keep his knowledge to himself and to pass into the bliss of *Nirvāṇa*, or, prompted by compassion for other beings to remain in the world to bestow the benefits of his wisdom upon mankind. These two ways mark the difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, for while Hīnayāna stresses individual enlightenment through *Arhat*-ship, in Mahāyāna the attaining of widsom is for the sake of the practice of compassion as a Bodhisattva. Individual enlightenment is not the goal of Mahāyāna so much as universal enlightenment.

Buddha taught to his disciples, first, the nature of *Dharma*, which is the actual world we experience uninfluenced by the intellect (or Ignorance in Buddhist terminology) or by desire. It is that which persists when all intellectual systematisation and effective valuations are wiped away. When the process is not carried out to the last degree, misery clings to us and there is no full emancipation. Metaphysical subtleties are useless, because they cannot grasp the *Dharma*

as it is, which is grasped when things are taken as they are, *Yathābhūtam.* It is therefore *Tathāla*, Suchness or Thusness. One who has attained to this understanding is *Tathāgata.* It is only by this insight, known as Bodhi, that misery is conquered. Buddha found the way to a higher synthesis, not by following the course of ordinary logic, but by intentively experiencing the *Dharma* itself. His teaching of non-*ātman* (*anatta*) is not the outcome of intellect, but an intuition, a state of actual experience. Mahāyāna is above all the expression of religious aspirations and has no inclination to indulge in speculation.

Another great point in Mahāyāna doctrine is the idea of the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva takes a vow to attain perfect knowledge and to save all sentient beings. The Bodhisattva voluntarily and joyfully accepts pain if he is able thereby to help others and he would never wish to attain his own salvation until all other beings are emancipated. In the Mahāyāna, all may attain to Buddhahood, for all have the Buddha-nature (*Buddhata*) and the desire for Bodhin. As relative knowledge is for the unenlightened, absolute knowledge is for the enlightened. *It is a matter of experience, and efforts to explain it belong to the realm of relativity. Relative knowledge has its value as long as our relative existence continues.* The mistake only arises when we take relative knowledge for absolute knowledge. *Sūnyata* is *thathata* and *thathata* is *Sūnyata. Sūnyata* is not to be confused with nothingness, contentlessness, mere negation of existence. Aśvagoṣa says that *thathata* is the same in all beings, it knows no increase in the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and no decrease in other beings ; it was not born in the past, it will not pass a way in the future ; it remains constant and unchanged. From the first it contains in itself all virtues and there is nothing wanting in it. *Thathata* is non-dualistic. The usual Hīnayāna understanding of *Nirvāṇa* is the state of Complete Extinction in which there is no more greed, no more anger, no more folly, nor all the other evil desires and passions. In the Mahāyāna Sūtras,

Nirvāṇa acquires a positive significance, it is no more a negative state but something existing by itself; it is Reality, from which all Buddhas issue. Reality is perhaps the best way to describe the *Dharmakāya* in one word. It is that which must be realised by every being for himself. Mahāyāna Buddhism holds out to its followers various ways of progressing on the way to Englightenment or Salvation, by emphasising :—

1. The way of the Moral life—practising the Eightfold Noble Path—(*cf. Karma Yoga* of the Hindus).
2. The way of Contemplation or Meditation as in Zen—(*cf. Jñana Yoga*).
3. The way of Practice as in Shingon—(*cf. Rāja Yoga*).
4. The way of Belief or Faith in the Grace of a Buddha, such as Amitabha or Akṣobhya—(*cf. Bhakti Yoga*).

Buddhism, like all religions, is concerned first of all with the individual, because it is only by lifting the individual to a higher life that society can be helped. And Mahāyāna Buddhism is also concerned with society, for it is a religion based upon altruism and the Bodhisattvayāna is its foundation. The Bodhisattva is a being who works to save others and as all true Mahāyāna Buddhists aim at being Bodhisattvas we may say that Mahāyāna Buddhism is a religion which essentially lives for the good of others. Therefore, it considers both the individual and society.

Do not commit evils ;
Perform good deeds ;
Purify your own thought ;

This is the teaching of the Buddha's (*Nirvāṇa Sūtra*).

This is Buddha's doctrine ; not to cherish enmity, not to fight, not to abuse (*Ratnākarandakavyūha-Sūtra*). For Buddha there is only one thing to do ; to benefit all the world, to purify the world, and to exterminate unrighteousness. This is the reason for their appearance. All beings are capable of acquiring great faith, for it is taught that they are all in possession of the Buddha-nature (*Nirvāṇa-Sūtra*). Mahāyāna offers salvation to all beings and the opportunity

for progress to perfection. Enlightenment within rather than without is the goal of Mahāyāna; when Enlightenment comes, Compassion will stream forth; men will learn to love their fellow beings; and wars, the exploitation of men and animals and anger, hatred and lust will come to an end. This is the teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Thus the richness of Mahāyāna Buddhism is commended to all lovers of humanity.

A. V. R.

What is Hinduism? By Mr. D. S. Sarma, Principal, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. (Price Rs. 1–8–0.)

PRINCIPAL SARMA improves upon his *Primer of Hinduism*, presents additional chapters on Comparative Religion and Hindu Rituals, the Caste System, Tāntric Sādhana and the Philosophy of Śaiva Siddhānta. As Mahatma Gandhi says, it must be the daily prayer of every adherent of the Hindu faith that every known religion of the world should grow from day to day and should serve the whole of humanity. The book would have been universally welcome if the author had confined himself to presenting information about Hinduism instead of seeking to expound what Hinduism should be or how it should develop.

Religion is the highest need of human nature. God is our eternal quest. Religion is, therefore, essentially supernatural. It comes from above and not from below. No purely human effort can ever establish a religion. The revelation of God comes through human channels. God remains the same for ever. But our ideas of Him may change from age to age. It is the human element in the various religions that divides them and it is the divine element running like a golden thread through all of them that binds them together. As the aim of all religions is to seek the perfection of God and to teach individuals and communities to order their lives in the light of that knowledge, we should look upon all religions as others engaged in a common cause, namely, the moral and spiritual improvement of

humanity. The spiritual experiences of great prophets form the soul of a religion, while the ordinances of priests form its body. There can be no religion without its own system of ethics. No great religion can ever exist without its patterns of prayer and meditation by means of which it directs the feelings and aspirations of the faithful towards heaven. Every religion is bound to possess a philosophy of its own, a body of doctrines arising out of secular knowledge but going for beyond it and including in its scope not only the visible world outside man but also the invisible world inside him. The growth of religious consciousness is generally along the same lines in all individuals—from the unconscious mind to the conscious will, emotion and understanding, and thence to the super-conscious spirit.

If religion should be compared to the human body, its ritualism would be the feet, its morality the hands, its worship the heart and its philosophy the head. Without ritualism, no religion can stand. To vary the figure, we may say that ritualism is only the husk of religion. But without husk, the seed will not grow. Ritualism has an important social function. Ritual is an embodiment of faith and it binds together large masses of believers. Ritualism has a historical function. It binds together also the different generations of a race. Ritualism has an obvious psychological function of providing an outlet for religious emotion ; and an æsthetic function for the expression of our sense of the beautiful. Ritualism has also a moral function. Every rite we perform is a lesson in self-control. Finally, the most important of all is its mystical function. A wisely planned and solemnly conducted ritual prepares the ground, creates the atmosphere, suggests the mood and predisposes the mind so that the soul may detach itself from the world and feel the mysterious presence of God. A well-established ritualism is like a fort which protects a religious community from all disintegrating forces from without but it tends to make religion mechanical and static and leads to Pharisaism, standing in the way of recognition of the unity of all religions.

The Hindu attitude to ritualism is that all men need ritual, but in varying degrees and varying kinds, until the end which the ritual is designed to secure is gained. The Samujasin, for instance, has no need of any ritual. The ritual is *Sthūla* or *Sūkṣma*, according to the disposition of the aspirant.

Hindu ethics is a part of its metaphysics. The Hindu sages saw one universal purpose running through all creation—the return of the divided spirit to its primal wholeness. Hindu sages judge all progress in human history by the degree of the predominance of spirit over matter. Civilization has to be estimated according to a scale of spiritual values for which purpose was constructed *Varṇāśrama Dharma*, to regulate both Hindu ritual and Hindu ethics taking into account both the unity and the variety of human beings. Spiritually we are all one, for the same divine spark is in all of us but we have varied gifts and aptitudes and no two men have exactly the same mental equipment. The theory of *Varṇāśrama* seeks to harmonise the claims of both the individual and community of which he is a part and to bring into existence a co-operative society in which there are classes, no doubt, but classes based on character and technical skill and hence fluid and all working towards the same end—the good of the commonwealth. Elasticity of Hindu society and its ever growing consciousness shows one increasing purpose through the ages, the establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth to the benefit of mankind. Each plays his part in unison with the needs and requirements of society. All Hindu Empires, particularly the great Empire of Vijayanagara, exemplify the truth underlying this statement.

It is the cardinal virtues emphasized by a religion that determine its individuality. In Hinduism, they are :—(i) purity, (ii) self-control, (iii) detachment, (iv) truth, and (v) non-violence. All sin is grouped under the three deadly sins of *Kāma*, *Krōdha*, and *Lobha*—lust, hate and greed. Sometimes three more are added, *Moha*, *Mada* and *Mātsarya*—delusion, pride and malice. The law of *Karma* is a unique and characteristic feature of the religious thought of India.

As a man sows, he shall reap. The inequalities of life are due to ourselves and not to God. We carry with us our own past and we are our own past. The mental and moral tendencies that the soul acquires in a particular life as a result of its motives and actions work themselves out in suitable surroundings in the next. The law of *Karma* recognizes both the elements of freedom and the elements that are pre-determined for us in our lives. Man's will is ever free, else moral life would be impossible. And by self-surrender we can transcend the strife of the moral world and reach the peace of the spiritual world where the higher law of grace prevails.

Morality is not religion, any more than the gateway to a temple is the temple itself. So moral life is not enough for the liberation of man. Mere morality cannot abolish our separateness and sin. It is only by fleeing to and taking refuge in God with love and devotion that we can leave our separate selves behind. This process is called *Bhakti*. Hindus have no quarrel with those who worship God under other names and forms. At the same time Hinduism teaches that God, the Absolute, is nameless and formless and that it is only for our convenience that we invest Him with name and form. *Ekam sat Vipraḥ bahudhā vadanti*—the Reality is one but the wise speak of it in different ways. The synthesis was secured by the twin doctrines of *Adhikāra* and *Iṣtadevata*. The internal means of *Bhakti* are (1) *Vairāgya* or renunciation, (2) *Jñāna* or knowledge, and (3) *Yoga*. Patañjali systematised the practices of *Yoga*, defining it as *citta—vritti—nirodha* or restraining the functions of the mind and prescribing eight accessories—*aṣtānga*. *Prapatti* is the last stage of *Bhakti*. Man has only to throw himself on the mercy of God for salvation. As expounded in the *Gīta*, surrendering all *Dharmas*, come unto ME alone for shelter : Sorrow not : I will release thee from sin. The *Tāntric Upāsana* and *Yoga* and the release of Kuṇdalini through the mystic *cakrās* in the body offer another approach.

Hindu Philosophy is not mere speculation or guesswork but organised doctrine based on mystic experience. The first systematic exponent of the Advaita was Gaudapāda.

His pupil was Govinda who afterwards became the teacher of Śankara who has left behind him a system which is unique and which commands the admiration of the world. The higher *Bhakti* or *Bhakti* in exaltation is otherwise called *Jñāna*. It is the final ascent in spiritual life—a life of realization. *Jñāna* in the higher sense is both knowledge of, and life in, God. *Jñāna* reveals to us the unsuspected heights of grandeur and glory at which we are struck dumb. It is no doubt true that most of us cannot rise to this level of mystic conciousness in our present lives. But there are advanced souls who do rise to it. Their experience cannot be ignored. We ought fearlessly admit that theism is only a half-way house and remember that the greatest of the Hindu sages did not stop at this but pushed forward and tried to see God as He is and not simply as He is to us. The former is called Brahman and the latter Īśvara. The Absolute is a spiritual perfection and beyond good and evil. From an absolute point of view, the soul is identical with God but in actuality we find the soul is subject to *Upādhis* which prevent it from realising its identity. All our sin and suffering are due to the false notion of a separate self and our salvation consists in overcoming this separateness. According to Rāmānuja, the Absolute is not impersonal but a personality with all the glorious qualities we know of, such as omniscience, omnipotence and boundless love. God is *Saguṇa* only and not *Nirguṇa*. The world is absolutely real, being an inseparable *prākāra* or abode of God. The *jīva* or individual soul is also absolutely real and eternally distinct from God, though God, being omnipresent, always dwells in it. *Mokṣa* is freedom from *Samsāra* and it is Bhakti that leads to it. *Karma* and *Jñāna* are only means to *Bhakti*. Madhva postulates unqualified dualism and insists on the five great distinctions—(1) God is distinct from *jīvas*, (2) God is distinct from matter, (3) *Jīvas* are distinct from matter, (4) *Jīvas* are distinct from one another, and (5) that one part of matter is distinct from another. According to him there are three eternal entities fundamentally different from one another—God, the *jīva*,

and the world. Hinduism is a synthesis of all types of religious experience from the lowest to the highest. It is a whole and complete view of life. By expounding and practising toleration, by holding out potential Godhood to every human being and from its high spiritual purpose it has an everlasting message for the World now at the crossways and it behoves every Hindu to practise *Sādhana*, attain realization and radiate true spirituality and bathe this warring world in the nectar of *Śānti*.

A. V. R.

The Journal of the Śrī Śankaragurukulam, Srīrangam.

(Vol. I, No. 1, of April 1939.)

THE founder of the *Gurukulam*, *Gurubhaktaśikhāmaṇi Śāstraprasārabhūṣaṇa* Balasubramanya Aiyar in his first annual report, stated that he was commanded by His Holiness Śrī Saccidānanda Sivābhinava Nṛasimhabhāratī Svāmi of Śringeri (1) to construct and consecrate a unique temple at Srīrangam for Śrī Śankarabhagavtpādācārya, the mightiest intellect of the world, (2) to start a *Gurukula* in the temple and (3) form an extensive library. Of these, the first has been fulfilled in a way and the library was commenced in 1934. To serve as a common link and to impart information from time to time of the activities and progress of the *Gurukula* and the library, this Quarterly has been started. It is proposed to publish rare and hitherto unpublished works by writers of established reputation in all branches of learning bearing on Hindu culture and civilisation, review books and periodicals on current thought and encourage the production of original compositions in Sanskrit by contemporary writers and poets. Seven rare and ancient works have been commenced to be published serially in this Journal—works not only of distinguished savants, like Appayya Dīkshita and Ghanaśyāma Pandita but of Kings as Sarfoji Mahārāja of Tanjore's *Kumāra Sambhava Champū* and Mahārājādhirāja Sri Bhoja Deva's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. It opens, as it were, a mine of wealth of hitherto unknown sources which makes one

not ooly proud of our past glories but also as an inspiration for future writers.

The first number begins with the *stotra* on Goddess Mīnākṣi by His Holiness Śrī Candraśēkharabhāratī Svāmi of Śringeri, clearly an auspicious assurance of prosperity to the Journal. *Śāntiparamyamīmāmsa* by Brahmaśrī Saccidānanda Tīrtha Svāmiji of Mulbagal and Śrī Venkatesa Sāstry's *Sarvadarśanānāmādvaitamātanuguṇatvam*, deserve special mention. When the annual award of prizes during the last Śankara Jayanti festival for the best essay was made, Brahmaśrī Venkatesa Sāstry's essay easily won the first prize.

V. V. P.

Pratyabhijñāhṛdyam. By Dr. Leidecker. (Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.)

THIS translation of the Secret of Recognition is based upon the translation of the work in German by Dr. Emil Baer from the Kashmiri text. For purposes of collation a paper manuscript in Telugu, a Telugu edition of the work and a palm leaf manuscript in Telugu script have been utilised by the Honorary Director of the Adyar Library. *Pratyabhijñā* is the doctrine which leads a person to become aware of the fact that the *paśu* (individual soul) is identical with *pati* (universal soul). The system appears as the eigth among the sixteen systems mentioned in Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha.* Three categories are recognised in this system, *pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa*, but while they are all equally ultimate for the *Siddhānta*, *pati* constitutes the sole reality. Through its own energy, this reality gradually unfolds the world on itself as the screen and divides itself into corresponding and mutually related subjects and objects. The world is no illusion as in the *Vedānta.* It is absolutely real. The actual process of the world is enacted in four faces which correspond to the four main phases of psychical life, *Jāgrata*, *Svapna*, *Suṣupti* and *Turīya avasthās.* The world is in reality nothing else than the psychical life of

the All-Soul projected outwardly. Śiva awakens and the world of phenomena potentially latent within himself blazes up. He is awake and the world exists. He goes to sleep and the world is drawn unto himself and disappears. He is asleep and the world rests within himself as a potential magnitude till the new day of the world. The author of the work is, according to the colophon, one Kṣemarāja, a student of Abhinavagupta. This Kṣemarāja is different from Kṣemaśarman *alias* Kṣemarāja, a medical student and his contemporary writer in Kashmir, Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta belongs to the second half of the tenth century according to *Rājataraṅgiṇi*. His pupil, the author of this work, is therefore believed to have lived and written in the first half of the eleventh century. Kṣemarāja belongs, in point of time, to the last of a long succession of Kashmirian Śaivite teachers and writers. The usefulness of this work which is excellently rendered by the learned author is enhanced by the printing of the original Śūtras as well as the English translations.

K. N.

Strījātaka or Female Horoscopy. By Prof. B. Suryanarayana Rao. (Price Re. 1 or 2*s*., or 50 cts.)

Srī Jaiminisūtras. By Prof. B. Suryanarayana Rao. (Price Rs. 2 or 4*s*., or $ 1.)

World Prospects in 1939 and 1940. By B. V. Raman. (Price As. 8, or 1*s*. 6*d*. or 50 cts.)

Horoscope of the Indian National Congress. By B. V. Raman. (Price As. 4 or 1*s*., or 25 cts.)

Varshaphal. By B. V. Raman. (Price Rs. 1–12–0 or 3*s*. 6*d*. or $ 1.)

Hindu Predictive Astrology. By B. V. Raman. (Price Rs. 6 or 12*s*., or $ 4).

(Copies available from B. V. Raman, Malleswaram P.O., Bangalore.)

MR. RAMAN is carrying on the excellent work started by his grandfather, Prof. B. Suryanarayana Rao, a most distinguished astrologer of his time. *Female Horoscopy* and

Jaiminisūtras are two works of Prof. Suryanarayana Rao: the other books are by Mr. Raman himself.

I must mention, in passing, of my review of *Uttarakālāmṛta*, translated by Pandithabhushana V. Subramanya Sastri, in the April 1939 issue of the *Q.J.M.S.*, giving the illustrative chart No. 44 from page 69 of that work. On page 538 of the *Q.J.M.S.* (Vol. XXIX) I have added a note that the other view that Gandhiji was born in 1869 is obviously incorrect. That note was an unfortunate slip as I forgot to notice at the time, that Gandhiji in his remarkable autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* translated by Mahadev Desai had mentioned that he was born at Porbandar on the 2nd October 1869 (hour of birth not given). I must apologise to the readers for this error. In this connection attention might also be drawn to four charts of Gandhiji's birth mentioned on page 87 under correspondence in the October–December 1939 issue of the *Astrological Magazine* edited by Mr. B. V. Raman. Of these, chart No. 4 taken from Mr. V. Subramanya Sastri's illustrative charts in the *Uttarakālāmṛta* and printed on page 538 of the *Q.J.M.S.* (Vol. XXIX) is based for the date of Gandhiji's birth on the *Hindu* dated 21st March 1922, which mentioned that he was born on the 22nd September 1870, 3⅕ ghatikas after sunrise. The *Hindu* dated 6th June 1930 mentions that he was born on 2nd October 1869 at 7–45 A.M. Gandhiji appears to have been born on the 2nd October 1869 at 7-45 A.M. This day is universally observed in India as his Jayanti and if this date and the time of birth be correct, the chart given in this review would most closely approximate to Gandhiji's time of birth, but it differs from all the charts contained in the *Astrological Magazine*. Chart No. 3 there with the Dragon's Head and Moon in Cancer would be a correct Horoscope. In his *World Prospects in 1939 and 1940*, Mr. Raman, at page 75, refers to this chart on page 87 of the *Astrological Magazine*. It is unfortunate that there should be such divergent views about the date of Gandhiji's birth. The greatest Indian living he is, despite differences amongst astrologers: his message for the freedom of man and for peace

is of an enduring quality. In the *Horoscope of the Indian National Congress* of the same author as well as in *World Prospects in 1939 and 1940* a connection between Gandhiji and the Congress, the influence of one upon the other and a prediction of their future in correlation might well have been illustrated. In the *Varshaphal* or the Hindu Progressed Horoscope, this enterprising author gives some general hints for judgment, at page 41. If for predicting about an individual, the intuitive faculty must be brought to bear upon the interpretation of a horoscope, what scientific value could be attached to such a reading is a matter on which the analytical student of Astrology would like to have illumination.

The Hindu System of Medicine or Ayurveda is another pamphlet with an introduction by Dr. W. B. Crow of Huddersfield. Nobody now doubts that the Hindus had developed an excellent system of medicine in the past but its connection with the Pañcabhūtas and the Dhātus and the treatment followed for the ills to which the flesh is heir are matters which require more and further exploration. "Yoga, Personal Hygiene" is devoted in a sense to the development of the human body free from the infection of disease but Pathology does not get sufficient emphasis.

Hindu Predictive Astrology has been appropriately dedicated to his grandfather, the late Prof. B. Suryanarayana Rao. The notion of the development of life on the earth in relation to the planets and the stellar hemisphere has to be established first; then the position of a planet in a particular constellation of the lunar mansions which again is distributed and occupies a certain position at a particular time in the signs of the Zodiac as influencing the native has got to be fixed. And when the actual time of birth of the native has been determined with reference to time, space and position of the various planets and lunar asterisms and the solar mansions, prediction begins. Mr. Raman takes it for granted that Astrology is a science and that having found out that a particular individual is born at a particular place and time, his future being fixed with reference to the planetary position at that moment, his future could

be predicted from the ascendant with reference to the benefic or malefic influences to which the native is subject, owing to the places which the Sun, Moon, the planets and the nodes occupy in the heavenly mansions. We congratulate the young author on the remarkable achievement which he has already accomplished in the difficult field of Hindu Astrology.

Horoscope of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi

Born on 2–10–1869, 7-45 A.M. at Porbandar

	Jup.		
			Moon Dragon's Head
Dragon's Tail			
	Sat.	Venus Mars Mercury Ascendant	Sun

Moon	Dragon's Tail	Mars Venus	Sun
Mercury Sat. Ascendant			
Jup.		Dragon's Head	

S. S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Baroda State, for 1936–37. By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. (Price Rs. 2–15–0.)

Dr. Hirananda Sastri has been able to examine 330 coins during the year including a silver punch marked piece from Kamrej. One of them belongs to Rudraśena I and another is claimed by Rudraśena III. The Aśokan Rock Edict at Girnar was published during the year. It is interesting to observe that 2,000 silver coins of Kumāra Gupta I, the Gupta Emperor, 413 A.D., were discovered during the excavation. The carved stone pillar found in the excavations at Pāṭan deserves close study. This is a profusely carved column of red sand-stone. The details are extraordinarily brilliant and we trust further exploration in that region will yield excellent results.

S. S.

Where Theosophy and Science Meet, Part III. Edited by D. D. Kanga. (Published by the Adyar Library Association, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 2-4-0.)

IDEAS rule the world and ideas and the anxiety and the determination to turn these ideas into concrete forms have turned this world of ours into a cock-pit of fighting races and creeds from which it would be difficult to say if civilization will be salvaged. As we write this, Europe is having a grim battle on the Rhine and the Vistula, where the English and the French and the Germans and the Poles are meeting in deadly combat with all the engines of destruction which the progress and the ingenuity of Science can manufacture and place at their disposal for the destruction of man. The following message of His Majesty the King-Emperor may be mentioned :

"In these days, when the whole civilization is threatened, the wide-spread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to me. I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to me by the Princes and peoples of India. I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered, we can count on the sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian Continent in face of the common danger. Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that relations between civilized States must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of war to pursue the happiness and well-being which should be the destiny of mankind." Gandhiji has also expressed his convicton that this war is a war for liberating mankind from the sway of brute force. Since writing the above, Poland has had to succumb to the superior force of Germany and the armed interventiion of U.S.S.R. in Eastern Poland. The principles for which Great Britain and France have entered the war are to free Europe and the world from the domination of totalitarian aggression and the devastating forces calculated to wreck civilization.

It is there that Theosophy and Science meet to stimulate modern thought. When we realise that we live not for bread alone but that there is something worth living for and worth dying for, the panorama of the great drama of creation and of the evolution of man and the universe is revealed to us through an intelligent understanding. Spiritual evolution is individual in man, which means life is the life of an ego who is evolved, different from others, whether such evolution is the result of the *karma* of the Indian or something else. According to the German Kultur it may be race heredity but in no event could the ego and the individual possibly be got rid of. Hence, the study of the root-races and of the types mentioned in the chapters on Anthropology deserves a careful scrutiny. In evaluating scientific data we have got to be very careful to see that our judgment is not warped by personal predilections. While it may be possible to agree that there is something lying hidden behind the experiments which are performed or which the bowels of the earth have disclosed, yet it cannot be empirically stated that what cannot be demonstrably explained can always be filled up by the exercise of the intuitive faculties of man. The chapter on yoga makes a very interesting reading and as the writer says the tree of yoga has grown out of the Indian cradle but how the practice of yoga could be made helpful to the ordinary tiller of the soil would have to be investigated. For a person who wants to realise himself or who lives in a hermitage in splendid isolation away from the cares and worries of family, or who devotes himself to meditate on the supreme oblivious of the world around him, yoga might be a brilliant philosophy of life but for a man who eats to live and lives to eat, yoga might not give the bread of life. It would be well if yogic practices are made to adapt to the conditions of ordinary life as for example the ruler of Aundh has recently attempted to do in Sūryanamaskar.

S. S.

Self-Restraint *versus* Self-Indulgence, Parts I & II. By M. K. Gandhi. (Published by Messrs. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmadabad. Price Re. 1, each Part.)

THE First Volume of *Self-Restraint* versus *Self-Indulgence* was published so far back as 1928 and the second part which was recently presented to the public also appears mostly as articles in the *Harijan*.

(*a*) Those who believe in *Self-Restraint* must not become hypochondriaces ; (*b*) Like every thing else that is good, self-restraint also requires an inexhaustible store of patience; (*c*) There should be no conscious effort to drive away evil thoughts ; (*d*) The best prescription is non-resistance which pre-supposes the existence of some kind of all-absorbing service, requiring concentration of mind, soul and body upon it; (*e*) Remember that, if you are married, your wife is your friend, companion and co-worker, not an instrument of sexual enjoyment: for self-control is the law of your being; (*f*) If you are not married, you owe to yourself, to society and to your future partner to keep yourself pure; (*g*) Work always under the task-master's eye thinking that some unseen power whom you do not see, of whom you do not hear, about whom you may know nothing, but forget not that He watches over you, observes your every error and that He alone can help you; (*h*) Remember that man is the representative of God but to serve all that lives and thus to express God's dignity and love; (*i*) Let service be your sole joy and you will need no other enjoyment in life.

The above taken from Part I, are found beautifully developed in Gandhiji's writings in the Second Volume. Gandhiji observes Brahmacarya as essential to married men as to the unmarried for it means a course of conduct adopted to be subject to truth, hence it ought not to be restricted to aspects of physical enjoyment merely. Birth-control must be by self-control and not with reference to artificial methods and safe periods. However difficult, birth-control must be through self-control; to be efficacious, useful and worthy,

that is the only method. In the chapter on the Modern Dilemma, Gandhiji says that marriage taboos are not universal and are largely based on social usage which varies from province to province and division to division. It does not mean that the youth may ride roughshod over all established customs and inhibitions but that ought not to be in advance of a public opinion which they are unable to convert. The social custom or usage that helps the practice of virtue and self-control should have the sanctity of a moral law. If it is eugenic considerations that are at the root of interdictions of marriages between brother and sister, then they ought to apply equally to cousin-marriages. A safe rule of conduct, therefore, would be as a rule to respect such taboos where they exist in a particular society. In the article contributed on the 23rd July 1938 to the *Harijan*, printed as number twenty-seven and how non-violence works, Gandhiji says "My faith in non-violence remains as strong as ever. I am quite sure that not only should it answer all our requirements in our country, but that it should if properly applied prevent the bloodshed that is going on outside India and is threatening to overwhelm the Western World." These words were written before the famous interview of Neville Chamberlain and Herr Hitler in September 1938 and another year has passed by and has led by stages and degrees to a sacrifice in men, money and human feeling which has just started and which is having unfortunately a merry time.

S. S.

The Antiquity of The Buddha Image: The Cult of the Buddha. By O. C. Gangoly. (Copies could be had from Mr. A. N. Gangoly, Old Post Office Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3–8–0 or 6*s*. or $ 1·5.)

THE earliest noticeable signs of the existence of image worship in India and in the countries surrounding India do not suggest its vogue more than two thousand and odd years ago. In the ancient Hindu scriptures, *viz.*, the Vedas,

hymns apostrophising the Sun, Moon or something else, offering prayers, describing him in many forms and invoking his blessings to give rain, fertility to the soil and so on : that may not be said to be give living embodiment to a deity in terms of image worship or a visual representation of it. It is doubtful but it may be suggested that image worship followed ancestral worship and the deification of those who were apostrophised in daily prayer. Should that be so, it would then follow that from ancestral worship the stage was reached for giving concrete shapes and forms to those who were worshipped as suited the imagination, intuition or ideas of the worshipper. Places to locate these images which got into vogue were to be found. It may be observed that it has been suggested that the Vedic tumulus was derived from the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg-Veda*, where the names are invoked during the funeral rite 'to hold the pillar' in the other hymn ; the maiden Prithvī, the earth goddess, is invoked during the funeral to protect the dead from the abode of destruction. There is no evidence of any temple in existence earlier than the Buddhist and the Buddhist Vihāras and monasteries are among the oldest evidence we have of temple building in India. Gotama would have least likely thought of being worshipped by posterity, for he most strongly forbade it. In the early centuries following Gotama there was no image of the Buddha, the enlightened one ; yet, he was represented by certain signs and symbols like a canopy, an umbrella or a pair of feet which suggested the presence of the enlightened one before a distinguished assembly. Gangoly rightly and veiy properly follows Coomaraswamy in this as well as in other directions in explaining the absence of the figure of the Buddha in the illustrations of the incidents of his life as we have them in the *Jātakas*. From the point of view of the ordinary man there does not appear to be any difference between Hindu Gods and the Buddha, whom in fact the Hindu Pantheon has recognised as an *Avatār* of Viṣṇu. Gangoly says that the absence of the image of Buddha in the Indian Pantheon does not suggest that the Indian artist was

incapable of proper and correct iconic representations of the Buddha and that the idea was not borrowed from the Gandhāra sculptors or that it was due to Hellenic influence. The Indian artist or sculptor is limited in his work and is ruled by certain limitations which he cannot in any event transgress, more particularly when he is supposed to give form and shape to the unfathomable one. Who are we, poor mortals, to describe the enlightened One! The first image of the Buddha cannot be ascribed to Hellenic masons of Gandhāra as suggested by scholars of earlier days. The illustrations given by Mr. Gangoly taken from examples of some centuries after the *Pāri-nirvāṇa* of Gotama is sufficient evidence of the employment of emblems and symbols to indicate the presence of the master without making an anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha, as for instance at Sanchi and Bharhut. It has been the constant belief in all Vedic and Post-Vedic thought that the Immeasurable One could never be caught within the measurable lineaments and it is as useful to devotion, an easy implement to meditation or a cosy support of contemplation. The image of the Buddha crept into later developments of the Buddhist doctrine and when this necessity arose the image was immediately formulated as for example in the ateliers of Mathura. The Hīnayānists regarded it as a heresy to depict the invisible one in any visible form, just as from the strictly aniconic conception of the Vedas, the Brahman, the transcendetal being in forms of visible shapes. We have already referred to the use of symbols and emblems for suggesting the presence of the Buddha and this continued even after the image of the Buddha came into Indian Art. The deification of a hero or a divine personality like the Buddha even during his life-time was naturally followed in the course of generations in making attempts to suggest his presence, then giving representations of him and so on and ultimately Lord Buddha became a great *avatār* and pictorial representation in the wake of the Hindu Gods followed as night followed day. That is also how Kṛṣṇa, Christ and Muhammad have been woven into the fabric of our daily lives. Mr. Gangoly

has also pointed out that the image of the Buddha at Saranath and Gandhāra represented in Figs. 7 and 8 indicate the existence of earlier models in plastic form.

S. S.

The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion. In two volumes. Sādhu Śāntinātha. [Copies available from The Manager, Institute of Philosophy, Amalner P.O. (E. Khandesh), or The Manager, Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2.]

THE book apparently embodies the result of the spiritual experience of a seeker of the truth and a student of philosophy. He says that after a comparative study of the dialectical works of the different religio-philosophical systems he finds that every system refutes every other system and becomes refuted in turn by them. He does not believe in the doctrine of the harmony of all faiths, *Sarvadharmasamanvaya*, because according to him the metaphysical conclusions which are rationally based on the divergent theories of causation must be divergent and they could, therefore, never be harmonised. Strangely enough, there is not sufficient reliance on the experience of *Samādhi* and the svamiji in not prepared to accept it as a *pramāṇa*, perhaps, he is an inveterate agnostic.

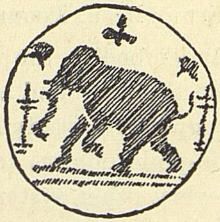
N. I.

NOTES

A Note on a Seal from Mysore

BY DR. C. MINAKSHI, M.A., PH.D.

THERE has been in my possession a metal seal which was bought from a shop in Mysore by a relative of mine in the year 1932.



The Metal seal is constituted of a disc measuring approximately 1·1″ in diameter with a semicircular ring attached to it on the reverse.

The figure of an elephant majestically standing with the left foreleg partially bent, with the two hind legs spread wide apart and the tail flashed up, is engraved on the face of the disc. Two lamps are seen one on either side of the elephant, while a lotus bud with two leaves as well as two cāmaras are carved above the elephant. Two parallel lines under the feet of the animal suggest the ground on which he is traversing.

The emblems such as the lamps and cāmaras are Hindu. This seal perhaps belonged to some dynasty that ruled over the region of Mysore. We know that the kings of the Ganga dynasty adopted the elephant as their crest. It is true that Tippu's coins also bear the elephant on them but by comparison the elephant on the seal is different in appearance. It may be surmised that this seal belonged to the kings of the Ganga dynasty.

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" The Vijayanagara emperors ruled over a country far larger than Austria with a capital incomparable for wealth and magnificence and coveted by the leading nations of the world. It is largely believed that Mādhavācārya, the celebrated scholar and pontiff at Sringeri Maṭha, was responsible for the foundation of the empire.... Vijayanagara was a supreme Hindu effort in order to protect their religion, their Dharma and their country.

" According to traditions and accepted accounts, literary and otherwise, Mādhava was a disciple of Vidyāśankara and well known as a great Advaitic teacher and the universally respected scholar and he was the brother of Sāyaṇa and known as Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda.

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